1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

A chief's son was never operated on alone but always with companions. There was no special tapu connected with operating on a chief's son.

The man performing the operation was called *faikaukau* or *faitefe*. He was not a chief's appointee. The only factor in determining who could be an operator was skill, involving such factors as a cool head, steady hand, previous experience, and that type of personality that tends to inspire confidence. The operator would never be the initiate's brother or cousin, but might be his father, uncle, or any other elderly man reputed for skill in the community. An informal council of interested fathers selected the operator who was to officiate.

Preceding the operation the boys bathed themselves thoroughly in the sea. This bath was called *fufulu*. After drying on a tapa towel, they were brought one at a time to the place of operation. This was usually situated outdoors under a large shady tree, the species of tree being of no importance. The spectators were the adult male relatives of the initiates. The rock, mat or large tree root on which each boy sat naked is called *hekehcka*. The operator sat on the ground in front of the boy in the usual tailor fashion of Tongan men.

The cutting instrument now used is a razor. Formerly it is said to have been a bamboo knife or sharp shell. A piece of unprinted or uncolored tapa (*fetaaki*) is now wrapped round and round the razor blade, leaving only the tip of the blade exposed. The following is a description of the operation:

> A piece of bamboo was placed over the head of the penis, the foreskin drawn down over this, then the operator, with one quick stroke of the razor, or more if necessary, slit the foreskin throughout its entire superior length.
>
> Then the operator chewed the leaves of a fern called *laufale* and squeezed some of the juice of the masticated plant on to the incision. The cut foreskin being doubled back around the medial portion of the penis was wrapped with the leaves of *kavakava-ulie* from which the large fibers had been extracted. The whole was well bandaged with unprinted tapa. A girdle of this material was passed about the waist and between the legs to hold the penis against the belly. The wound was dressed twice daily.
>
> The boys, having all been operated on, were confined in a house together. No one might visit them, but their adult male relatives. Food was brought to them. They could leave the house only to defecate and urinate. The operator instructed them in the tapus they were to follow. They were told not to think of women. If one suffered from erection, he pulled hard at a piece of rope (called *tukutaopeanga*) suspended from the rafters and the erection left him. Other tapus forbade the eating of anything sweet, the drinking of anything but water, and only one cup of that a day, the eating of anything red, at the present day the eating of any tinned goods, the taking of a bath for five days and nights, and the performance of any heavy work or walking.
>
> In urinating the patient squatted down on his left knee, the right knee high, the body bent low over the right knee, the weight of the body supported by the right hand, while with the left hand he served himself. This position prevented the urine from running back on to the erectly held penis. If it should run back on to the penis, a swelling is said to have resulted. This caused extreme pain and even loss of life. It was called *mimi* and the squatting position described above was called *mimifakatafitafi*.

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810), 1818
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CHAPTER V.

Political intrigues of Toobo Toa against Toobo Nuha—Toobo Toa's vow—Finow's character contrasted with that of Toobo Nuha—Sentiments of Toobo Toa—Assassination of Toobo Nuha—Speech of Latoo Ila over the dead body—Specious conduct of Finow—The body laid in state—Dismal lamentations of Toobo Nuha's women—Some account of the nature of the taboo—Burial of Toobo Nuha—Heroic challenge of Chioolooa—Chiefdom of Vavaoo given to Finow's aunt—Her hostile intentions—The heroic speech of her sister to the women of Vavaoo—Tóĕ Oomoo (Finow's aunt) builds a large and strong fortress at Vavaoo—Finow's determination to proceed immediately against it, notwithstanding the dissuasion of his priests—Sketch of his religious sentiments—Bravado of a Vavaoo warrior—Finow's son arrives from the Navigator's islands—His ceremony of marriage—A review—An instance of mercy and discrimination—Arrival of a canoe from Vavaoo—Finow embarks with 4000 men for Haano—By the advice of the gods he proceeds to Vavaoo with three canoes to offer peace—Is met by Toe Tangata, who addresses him—Finow makes a speech to the Vavaoo people—Their rejection of his offers—Beautiful appearance of the great garrison of Vavaoo—Return of the expedition to Hapai.

WE are now coming to a new æra in the history of the Tonga islands, occasioned by the political intrigues of Toobó Tóa a natural son of Toogoo Aho[A] by one of that king's female attendants. Toobó Tóa was the chief that formerly had the direction of the conspiracy

A [The deceased Tui Kanokupolu--Analyst]

2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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against the Port au Prince: he was a man of not quite so brave and disinterested a spirit as Toobó Nuha; he partook rather of the character of Finow, with a little more ferocity, but somewhat less depth of policy. It will be recollected that Toobó Nuha was the chief that assassinated Toogoo Ahoo; ever since which period Toobó Toa's desire of revenge was most implacable; and he had made a vow never to drink the milk of the cocoa-nut out of the shell till he had fully accomplished it. He had indeed all along espoused the cause of Finow against the adherents of his father, which may seem strange, as Finow himself was a principal accomplice in that assassination, though his policy did not allow him to be the immediate perpetrator. But Toobó Tóa knew well that he should have no chance of success against so strong a power as that of Finow; he therefore joined him, that he might have, some time or another, an opportunity, however dangerous the attempt, of wreaking a signal vengeance on Toobó Nuha. The crisis was now fast approaching, for he had well prepared the way for it, by constantly whispering into the ear of Finow something disadvantageous to the character of Toobó Nuha. At one time he represented him to be the meditator of certain conspiracies; at another the enviable possessor of a

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happier island, (Vavaoo,) much more productive of every article of convenience and luxury: sometimes he insinuated that Toobó Nuha did not pay sufficient annual tribute, considering the fertility of the island and the superior dignity of Finow; at other times he represented him as ambitious, that he sought to gain too much the love of the people, and by his success in this way became too powerful: he moreover never ceased to remind the king of the frequent opposition made by Toobó Nuha to his wise measures in regard to his warlike preparations against Tonga: at last he had the boldness to propose his assassination. Finow, who was not at all startled at proposals of this nature, but who never wished, if possible, to appear to the world as a party concerned, lent an attentive ear to Toobó Tóa, and half promised his assistance, but advised that the execution of his project should be deferred till some future and more fit opportunity offered.

To enter properly into the merit of this account, Finow's character must all along be kept in view: he was a man of a deep and designing spirit, always willing to favour any conspiracy that promised to advance his interests, but exceedingly cautious how he let any body know his intentions, even the party that proposed it. He always conducted himself with such ad-

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634 mirable policy, that no one, not even his most
157 intimate acquaintance, could dive thoroughly
into his projects. Toobó Nuha, (his brother,)
634 on the contrary, was a truly brave man, and,
669 upon the whole, of an undesigning and exceed-
157 ingly liberal mind; for though he had proposed and perpetrated the assassination of Toogoo Ahoo, it was believed to be not so much to avenge his own personal wrongs as those of his country: he often used to express to Mr. Mariner the extent and nature of his feelings on that occasion, how he regretted that so many beautiful and innocent women should be sacrificed at the same time*; yet how strongly he felt that the liberty of his country was that moment in his power, whilst the desire of avenging its wrongs was like a raging thirst that overpowered every other sensation: no sooner was the blow struck than he saved all that he could save, a little child of three years old, which he bore away in his arms from the scene
634 of slaughter. The liberality of his mind will
157 appear also from the answers he made to those who sometimes threw out hints to him that Finow was not his friend, and that it was therefore proper for him always to go armed: "Finow," he replied, "is my brother—he is

* See note p. 72.

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"my superior chief—he is king of these islands, 634
"and I pay him tribute as a servant; if he has 157
"any reason to be dissatisfied with my conduct,
"my life is at his disposal, and he is welcome
"to take it, for it is better to die than to live
"innocent and yet be thought capable of
"treachery;—besides, I will not arm myself
"against a power to which, as long as the
"country is well governed, it is my duty to
"submit."

This brave chief was still at Lefooga with 634
all his army, in daily expectation of receiving orders from the king for their return to Vavaoo. Toobó Tóa thought the opportunity too advan- 662
tageous to be lost: he did not approve of the 634
advice of Finow, to wait yet a little longer. What opportunity, he thought, could be better than the present, while Toobó Nuha was still on the same island with him, and the king seemed disposed to favour his views? He had harboured sentiments of revenge so long within his breast, and the fitness of the occasion so spurred his resolution, that every day's delay appeared in his imagination the loss of an age. Finow's feeling upon the subject was supposed not to be very far remote from that of Toobó Tóa; but as he saw very clearly that this chief's determination was fully bent upon his purpose, and required no encouragement from

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build a large and strong fortress, and to put themselves in a state of defence against any incursions that Finow might make upon them, or, rather, which Toobó Toa might urge him to make.

The proposed fortress was to be the largest that ever was known in the Tonga islands, to be, in short, a fortified town, capable of holding all the inhabitants of Vavaoo (about 8000 in number), with their houses and burying-places, to be built round the Mooa*, and constructed, as usual, of reed fencings, much on the same plan as that of Nioocalofa, formerly described, but to be surrounded by a deep and firm-set bank of solid clay, about twelve feet high, with a ditch on the inner side of it, from which the clay would be furnished, and thus be proof against the guns: within this ditch, and next the fencing, was to be another bank of clay, smaller than the other. The whole of the materials of the fencing was to be proportionably strong and good.

Among a great deal of information which the old mataboole communicated, was that respecting the bravado of a Vavaoo warrior, who declared his utter contempt of the guns. It is customary for every professed warrior, before

* The chiefs' houses are generally situated together, and this place is called the Mooa, the metropolis of the island.

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he goes to battle, or expects the coming of an enemy, to give himself the name of some one particular person, whom he means to single out and fight. This warrior, however, instead of assuming the name of one of the enemy, proudly called himself Fanna Fonnooa (a great gun), declaring that he would run boldly up to a cannon and throw his spear into the mouth of it.

When Finow was informed of these proceedings of the Vavaoo people, he immediately resolved to make a descent upon them with a powerful force, and reduce them into subjection before they could have completed their designs: but the priests dissuaded him from this hasty project, and proposed, that it would be much more acceptable to the gods to make, in the first place, an offer of reconciliation. The king, however, had not much respect for the priests, and though he sometimes conformed with their advice, it was generally because it tallied with his own opinion, or he did it for the mere outside shew of veneration for the gods: his want of religion was, indeed, almost proverbial, and, on this account, the people often wondered that he was so successful in war. In this particular instance he was so exasperated at the conduct of his aunt, that not the persuasion of the priests, nor the admoni-

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now, and all the chiefs of Hapai, cursing them in the most bitter manner *, and their fathers for begetting them, and heaping maledictions upon all their generation; he went on in this manner, cursing and swearing at his enemies, till the water came up to his mouth, and, even then, he actually threw back his head for the opportunity of uttering another curse, spluttering the water forth from his lips, till it bereft him for ever of the power of speech. They were about twenty minutes sinking, after which the large canoe returned immediately to Vavaoo.

Booboonoo and Nowfaho were both men that bore a most amiable character: in time of war they were brave and enterprising; in time of peace, gentle and humane. The conduct of Nowfaho, in killing the poor Hapai woman, seems to make much against his humanity;

* The curses used among the Tonga people are very numerous; but, for the most part, they are rather horrible commands than curses, and are, generally, in regard to maltreating one's relations, or eating one's superior relations; for it is considered a crime to eat food which a superior relation has touched; how much more, therefore, to eat that relation himself! For a sample;—"Bake your grandfather till his skin turns to cracknel, and gnaw his skull for your share!"—"Go, and ravish your own sister!"—"Dig up your father by moonlight, and make soup of his bones," &c. &c. Many of their sayings, in this way, are too indelicate to mention.

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but, as it was so contrary to his general sentiments and conduct, we ought to have the liberality to suppose, that it was a sudden frenzy of the mind, which, at the moment, he could no more help, than a man in convulsions can help the violent agitation of the body. Let this, however, be as it may, it is certain that he and Booboonoo were both admired for their mild and benevolent disposition, and were gaining every day, more and more, the love of the people, which, no doubt, caused the king to be jealous of them, lest their increasing power should ultimately annihilate his. Nowfaho's desire of revenge was, of course, considered (in their state of society) a virtuous and manly sentiment. If we attend to their conversation at the approach of death, we shall find them both expressing sentiments of disinterested friendship for each other: Booboonoo is quite unhappy at leaving his infant son, and recommends him strongly to the care of Talo by all that is sacred and religious; Nowfaho desires to be affectionately remembered to his wife; these are not sentiments that belong to gross and savage minds. As to Cacahoo, he certainly was not so much famed for his benevolence, as for his prodigious strength and great personal courage; yet still he was much beloved and respected; and several of the En-

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lishmen were much indebted to him, as well as to the other two, for many acts of kindness.

Mr. Mariner heard the foregoing relation from Talo, and two or three others that were in the large canoe, and considers it strictly consonant with the truth.

The widows of those who were executed on the beach in the morning, and of those who were dispatched at the small island in their way out to sea, petitioned Finow to grant them leave to perform the usual rites of burial in behalf of their deceased husbands, which the king readily acceded to: and they accomplished the ceremony with every mark of unfeigned sorrow and regret. When the last affectionate remembrances of Nowfaho were made to his widow, she appeared greatly moved; for, though she scarcely wept, her countenance betrayed marks of violent inward agitation: she retired to her house, and, arming herself with a spear and club, went about to seek for the other widows, who had lost their husbands in the same way, and urged them to take up arms, as she had done, and go forth to revenge their husbands' death, by destroying the wives of Finow, and his principal chiefs; finding, at length, that none of the others were willing to follow her example, she

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form a triangle; and with this horrible equipment they walked round the grave, beating their faces and heads, as before stated, with the paddles, or pinching up the skin of the breast, and sticking a spear quite through; all this, to prove their love and affection for the deceased chief.

After these exhibitions of cruelty were over, this day's ceremony (which altogether lasted about six hours) was finished by a grand wrestling-match, which being ended, every one retired to his respective house or occupation; and thus terminated the ceremony of burying the king of the Tonga islands.

Finow's character, as a politician, at least in point of ambition and design, may vie with that of any member of more civilized society; he wanted only education and a larger field of action, to make himself a thousand times more powerful than he was. Gifted by nature with that amazing grasp of mind which seizes every thing within its reach, and then, dissatisfied with what it has obtained, is ever restless in the endeavour to obtain more, how dull and irksome must have been to him the dominion of a few islands, which he did not dare to leave to conquer others, lest he should be dispossessed of them by the treachery of chiefs, and the fickleness of an undisciplined army. His

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His ever restless and ambitious spirit would frequently vent itself in such expressions as the following: "Oh, that the gods would make me king of England! there is not an island "in the whole world, however small, but what "I would then subject to my power: the king "of England does not deserve the dominion "he enjoys; possessed of so many great ships, "why does he suffer such petty islands as those "of Tonga continually to insult his people "with acts of treachery? Were I he, would I "send tamely to *ask* for yams and pigs? No, I "would come with the *front of battle**; and "with the *thunder of Bolotane*† I would shew "who ought to be chief. None but men of "enterprising spirit should be in possession of "guns; let such rule the earth, and be those "their vassals who can bear to submit to such "insults unrevenged!" With such sentiments as these would he now and then break forth in presence of Mr. Mariner, after conversing on the power of the king of England. Hence his character, as to ambition, is drawn by himself with bold and decided lines. As to intrigue

* *Mooa tow*, which literally means the front or fore-part of battle, is a very usual expression among them.

† The expression they use for the noise of guns; the word Britain they cannot pronounce in any other way than Bolotáne.

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and design, the reader may refer to the history of his conduct in the revolution of Tonga, (p. 71) where he suffered Toobó Nuha's revenge to be the tool of his ambition, pretending to have no strong wish for the death of Toogoo Ahoo; hence Toobó Nuha took upon himself the charge of assassination, whilst Finow remained on the outside of the house with his men waiting the result: thus he did not draw upon himself the odium of any one, as an actual murderer of Toogoo Ahoo; all which fell upon the shoulders of Toobó Nuha, equally as great and brave, but a more honest and a worthier man. For a more striking instance, look to his deep design in the history of the assassination of his brother Toobó Nuha, who had been his own ally, and was then his most faithful servant (see p. 132); here again he made use of another man's revenge to effect his purpose; and mark the admirable caution with which he steps in this affair throughout. He acknowledges that he promised Toobó Toa his assistance, but then states, as his reason, that he did it with the view of putting off Toobó Toa's intention for a time, under the false pretence, he says, that it was not yet a fit opportunity; but in reality, *as he tells the Vavaoo people*, that he might find an occasion to prevent the mischief altogether! But who can

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doubt, after having observed closely the features of that transaction, but that Finow meant to bring about the murder of Toobó Nuha that very night, else why did he tell Mr. Mariner not to bring his whaling knife with him? was it not that he wished to be unarmed, that he might not have an opportunity of defending Toobó Nuha? Again, he did not, before he set out from his house, send for Toobó Nuha to accompany him, but when he had got half way on his road he stopped to bathe, and in the mean while, as if it were a second and a casual thought, he sent for his victim to accompany him to the old chief's house, where they remained above two hours. Toobó Tóa was not present, and Toobó Tóa's men were getting ready a canoe for him to escape, in case he were unsuccessful. When the first blow was given, Finow could not defend Toobó Nuha, because he was *purposely* unarmed, and because Toobó Tóa's men held him, which they would not have dared to have done had they not been so ordered by their chief. Need any more be said to shew his policy?—Once more notice him, when he wishes to make a peace with the Vavaoo people, after he had kept up for some time a fruitless contest (p. 220). To have expressed this wish might have weakened him in the opinion of his enemies; what does he in

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this case?—he takes frequent opportunity to converse with the priests: he does not tell them that he wishes for peace, but he observes that peace would be much more advantageous for his subjects; lamenting, at the same time, that the disobedience of the Vavaoo people obliges him to have recourse to warlike measures: the minds of the priests, however, becoming strongly impressed with the advantages of peace, when inspired they advise him to make a peace; he, pretending to do as the gods admonish him, yields to the solicitation, and permits his priests to make overtures, as if this step was originally designed by them, or rather by the gods, and that he consented merely because it was a point of religious duty to do so. Thus we find him an admirable politician, although the picture is occasionally marked with traits which do no honour to his character as a man. Farther instances of this kind may be noticed, such as his cruelty towards his conquered enemies, by starving his prisoners to death in the shocking manner related p. 78, for which he could have no excuse, unless to deter others from rebellion. As to his seizing several of the Vavaoo chiefs at a cava ring (p. 276), and ordering them to be killed, it may perhaps be that they were meditating an insurrection, as he was informed;

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hence such strong measures became almost necessary in a state of society like that *. But it would be rather severe to consider cruelty so great a crime among these people as it would be among us: the evil to society may be perhaps quite as great, but the demerit certainly falls not so heavy upon the perpetrator, nor does the victim, in all probability, feel it so much. To return to the subject, Finow was by no means destitute of the spark of humanity: it was remarkable in him that, although he was rather arbitrary, he hated to see oppression in others, and would frequently take the part of the oppressed, against those who were punishing them harshly; and this Mr. Mariner is confident did not arise from caprice, nor from pride, as willing to make himself the only person to be feared, but from far better motives. As a proof of his sentiments in this respect, the following anecdote is worthy of notice: When Mr. Mariner was first able to explain himself in their language, young chiefs and warriors would frequently flock about him, (particularly

* It is very far from my wish to extenuate Finow's conduct; on the other hand, I should be sorry to represent him a worse man than he really was. His character no doubt was a very extraordinary one, and I have endeavoured to weigh duly and without prejudice every circumstance that might tend to throw a light upon it.

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those who were active in taking the Port au Prince, and question him upon the use of various things they had seen on board that vessel, and then they would describe the difficulty they had in killing some of the men, mentioning, at the same time, who killed such a one and who killed another, and expressed, by their actions, how much such a man was convulsed when he died, and how deeply he groaned. Whilst talking upon such subjects, Finow passing that way, and overhearing the discourse, would command them not to talk upon a matter which must be so disagreeable to Mr. Mariner's feelings; that the fate of his companions was too serious a subject to be thus slightly spoken of: to which some of the chiefs replied, "but he "does not make that a subject of considera- "tion, for none of them were his relations."— "Though none perhaps were his relations," rejoined Finow, "they were nevertheless his "countrymen." Remarks like these, if not made out of pride, or from a spirit of contradiction, (and Mr. Mariner firmly believes they were not,) may very well serve to convince us that Finow's mind was by no means destitute of humanity; and though he was at times cruelly severe with his prisoners, in putting them to death by ways not the least painful, still this was perhaps on all occasions, to a cer-

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634 tain degree, justifiable, as examples to keep
157 others in terror: a method undoubtedly not
727 the best, but such as may be easily overlooked
in a state of society like that in which he
[685] lived *. As another example to throw into the

634 * Finow was not considered wantonly cruel, like Toogoo
157 Ahoo: his severe sentences were thought necessary, by
727 others as well as himself, to place his new authority as king
upon a secure foundation. It is Mr. Mariner's opinion, in
661 the impartiality of which I have reason to place the utmost
confidence, that had Finow been less watchful, bold, decided,
and severe, Toobó Toa would soon have shortened his reign;
or, if *he* had not, Voona would probably have dethroned
him, on his return from Hamoa, in revenge for his former
loss of Vavaoo: but his conduct was so unsearchable, his
discovery of conspiracies was in a manner so instinctive,
and his revenge so prompt, bold, and decisive, that the peo-
ple looked up to him with extraordinary admiration, and
pronounced him to be truly a great chief, worthy to be a
king. The most judicious of the natives, while they con-
sidered his conduct as severe, declared it to be dictated by
true policy. If therefore his severity, instead of being con-
sidered either criminal or cruel by his own people, was on
the contrary thought worthy of admiration as becoming a
great, politic, and wise chief *so circumstanced*, I think I am
warranted in saying that it "was perhaps on all occasions
[771] to a certain degree justifiable." Finow, beyond all doubt,
was greatly to be condemned, but not for his cruel severity:
it was his disrespect for the gods that constituted his great
crime,—a crime of such a magnitude that his people were
astonished to see the gods favour his enterprizes. It is ex-
ceedingly difficult to judge of such a character without enter-
ing fully into the Tonga sentiments and habits. These re-
marks are made in consequence of some observations on the
above passage in the Quarterly Review, No. 33, p. 25.

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scale in favour of Finow's humanity and discriminative justice, we may quote the instance of pardon granted to the two boys of the Port au Prince, who, notwithstanding they were guilty of theft and sacrilege, were excused on account of their supposed ignorance of the extent of their crime; whilst a native would have been executed upon the spot. (See p. 163.) His conduct towards Mr. Mariner must also be noticed at the time when the Hope, Captain Chace, arrived at Vavaoo. (See p. 303.) It should here moreover be observed, that Finow's temper was uncommonly irritable; when once excited into anger, his rage was terrible: this he acknowledged himself, and would frequently say that his quick temper was the infliction sent him from Bolotoo*: and in some measure to obviate its ill effects, he frequently charged his matabooles to hold him whenever they saw him getting violently angry! This they always did, and in about ten minutes or a quarter of

* They believe that every man has some deep-seated evil, either in his mental or bodily constitution, sent him by the gods; but for which they assign no other reason than the delight they take in punishing mankind: this last opinion is however by no means universal, the generality of the natives do not pretend to assign any reason; and upon mature consideration Mr. Mariner is convinced that the malignancy of the gods is not a Tonga doctrine, except as far as regards the Hotoos Pow hereafter to be spoken of.

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634 an hour he would become quite calm, and
157 thank them for their interference. This admirable conduct is, no doubt, a beautiful trait in the character of a savage: and there is perhaps at this time many a man living at the Tonga islands who owes his present existence to this circumstance; whose head would undoubtedly have been cleaved long ago, but for this laudable artifice on the part of their chief. Nor was he on all occasions unable to master his temper without these secondary means; for if we observe him when he approached the shores of Vavaoo, to address the people with the view of persuading them to amicable measures, we shall see that all the scoffs and insults of his enemies did not in the least ruffle his temper, contrary to the expectation of his friends. But, however, his temper was no doubt very irritable, and with such a temper, and in such a state of society, it is not to be wondered at that he should occasionally be very harsh in his measures towards those who rebelled against him.

As to his moral character in general, not much can be said in his favour; he was suspected of harbouring revengeful designs against individuals for years, and would wreak his vengeance at a fit opportunity and kill them, as if from a momentary impulse of passion, when nobody was near to restrain him. His revenge

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in this way was sometimes wreaked upon chiefs, who, as he imagined, did not pay him so much tribute as their plantations could have afforded; at least such was supposed to be his motive, by those who knew him best.

In describing the character of an extraordinary man, the picture is unfinished unless we furnish also a portraiture of his person, and of his personal manners; otherwise the imagination of the reader is sure to describe for itself a body, as a substratum on which all these mental qualifications are superinduced; and hence, incongruities are mingled together; the harmony of the picture weakened, if not quite destroyed; and an imperfect artificial construction is substituted for a perfect natural production. To give an example of the propriety, if not the necessity of this,—one might imagine from the character above given of Finow that he was of a very vindictive and cruel disposition, because we have given a few instances in confirmation of it: one might believe him therefore to have a countenance harsh and severe, a lowering, sullen brow, a haughty deportment, &c.—But nothing can be more remote from his true personal character;—and we are surprised to hear that his countenance was indeed energetic, yet mild; his brow prominent and bold, without sullenness; his de-

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634 157 portment manly and erect, without pride. *Without* the knowledge of these facts, we suppose him to have been cruel and malevolent; *with* the knowledge of them, we rather suppose him to have been severe; but that his severity, where it degenerated into harshness, was occasioned sometimes by hastiness of temper; sometimes by misconception of the crime which he punished; at other times, (and perhaps partly at all times,) by the habits of the society in which he lived, these habits occasioning him to view acts of real cruelty in a light less atrocious than we should.—If, on the other hand, we were to find that his countenance spoke the same harsh language that his actions appeared to speak, we might, without much fear of error, set him down as being often capable of malignant and atrocious actions*.

[142] Finow, the sole and arbitrary monarch of Vavaoo, and the Hapai islands, was in stature six feet two inches; in bulk and strength, stout and muscular; his head erect and bold; his shoulders broad and well made; his limbs well

[661] * That which appears to be the worst of his actions, at least the most inhuman, viz. the assassination of his brother Toobo Nuha, was always an inexplicable puzzle to those who might be considered impartial; but they all seemed perfectly convinced that he would not have done it without some strong reason,

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set, strong, and graceful in action; his body not corpulent, but muscular; his hair of a jet black, and curly, yet agreeably so, without being woolly; his forehead remarkably high; his brow bold and intelligent, with a little austerity; his eye large and penetrating, yet joined to an expression of mildness; his nose aquiline and large; his lips well made and expressive; his teeth remarkably large, white, and regular; his lower jaw rather prominent; his cheek bones also rather prominent, compared with those of Europeans.—All his features were well developed, and declared a strong and energetic mind, with that sort of intellectual expression which belongs not so much to the sage as to the warlike chieftain: ambition sat high on his front, and guided all his energies: his deep and penetrating eye, and his firm and masculine deportment, while they inspired his adherents with confidence, struck awe to the minds of conspirators: his actions were, for the most part, steady and determined, and directed to some well studied purpose: his resolve was fate, and those who obeyed him with reluctance trembled, not without reason. He appeared, almost constantly, in deep thought, and did not often smile;—when he spoke, in matters of some importance, it was not without first holding up the balance in his mind, to weigh

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well what he had to say: persuasion hung upon his lip, and the flow of his eloquence was such, that many of his enemies were afraid to listen to him, lest they should be led to view the subject in a light prejudicial to their interests.

Although, in matters of consequence, he always seemed to weigh well what he had to say, in subjects of minor importance he was very quick in reply: his voice was loud, not harsh but mellow, and his pronunciation remarkably distinct. When he laughed, which was not on trifling occasions, it was so loud as to be heard at an incredible distance; and with a very strange noise preceding it, as if he were hallooing after somebody a long way off, and the same kind of noise as he always made when in a passion: and this was peculiar to him. When in his house, however, giving orders about his domestic arrangements, his voice was uncommonly mild, and very low.

In regard to his sentiments of religion and policy, they may be pretty well gathered from sundry passages in the narrative:—with respect to his religion in particular, it is difficult to say whether he had any: it is certain that he disbelieved most of the oracles delivered by the priests; for although he conceived that they were really inspired, when they appeared to be so, yet he thought that frequently a great deal

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gard to the present Finow. They accordingly went together to the grave, and, after accurate examination, they discovered several bits of *gnatoo*, and a wreath of flowers curiously formed in a peculiar manner, invented by one of the wives of the king, and which they recollected to have seen him wear round his neck a few days before.

This circumstance being communicated to Finow, and coming to the ears of his chiefs, and of the matabooles of the late How, produced considerable consternation among many of them. Finow, however, with that cool presence of mind which marked his character, issued orders to his chiefs to keep a vigilant look out, and, without discovering the least alarm, did every thing in the way of preparation against the worst that might happen. He kept Mr. Mariner constantly near him, that he might not be accidentally separated from him in case of any public disturbance. On all occasions he endeavoured to make the conspirators (if any such there were) believe that he was perfectly off his guard, and in conscious security, and,

ried in the house consecrated to the tutelar god of the family. This charm is not supposed to have the desired effect when the grave of a deceased person is made use of, unless the deceased was of superior rank to the person on whom the charm is practised.

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friend solemnly promise,—and before their final separation, made him again repeat that promise, and swear to the fulfilment of it *by his father, and by the god who governed him*, that he would some time or another return, or endeavour to return in a large canoe, (a ship,) and take him away with him to England; and in case his subjects should stand averse to such a measure, that he would complete his project by force of arms. Mr. Mariner having repeated this promise, Finow embraced him, and shed tears.

It would be very interesting to know what would be the result of removing an individual, of Finow's disposition and intellectual powers, from the state of society in which he had been brought up, into a civilized country; into a scene so widely different from every thing he had been accustomed to, where every circumstance would be new, and every object calculated to draw forth the powers of his natural understanding, to judge of their propriety, absurdity, or excellence. Finow's intellect, as we shall by and by more clearly see, when we take a survey of his character, was far, very far above the common: there was interwoven in the very texture of his mind a spirit of philosophical inquiry, directed by the best of all motives—the desire of human improvement;—not the offspring of common curiosity, but that noble im-

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pulse, which goads the mind on in the pursuit of knowledge, at whatever risk, and with whatsoever suffering. But we must leave this subject for the present, to take a farther view of the transactions on board.

The captain had a quantity of pearl oyster-shells, which are considered by the natives a very beautiful ornament, and very scarce among them, as those which they have are not capable of being so finely polished: these attracted Finow's fancy, which the captain observing, made him a present of several; but, however, he did not direct his attention to mere matters of ornament: he reflected that he had very few gun-flints on shore; and he ventured, in a very modest manner, to ask the captain for a supply of an article that would be so useful to him* in defending his newly established kingdom of Vavaoo against the encroachments of the Hapai people; and the captain liberally complied with his request.

Mr. Mariner had on shore, in a concealed place, the journal of the Port au Prince, which he was now desirous of securing. The reader may here be reminded, that in the early part of Mr. Mariner's residence at these islands, the late king ordered him to give up his books and

* Finow knew the use of a musket exceedingly well, and was a very good shot.

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Finow supposed him to be asleep, he would lay his hand gently upon his forehead and say, "Poor *papalangi!* what a distance his country "is off! Very likely his father and mother are "now talking about him, and comforting themselves by saying 'perhaps to-morrow a ship "'will arrive and bring our son back to us.'" The next moment all the amiable qualifications of the present king presented themselves to his view, and as we have not yet drawn a character so well worthy to be noticed, we shall now attempt to display it in its true and native colours, trusting that it will afford a considerable share of pleasure to the generality of readers.

Finow, the present king of Vavaoo, about twenty-five years of age, was in stature 5 feet 10 inches; well proportioned, athletic, and graceful; his countenance displayed a beautiful expression of openness and sincerity; his features, taking them altogether, were not quite so strongly marked, nor was his forehead quite so high as those of his father, nevertheless they expressed an ample store of intellect. Notwithstanding the benevolent mildness and play of good humour in his countenance, his eye shot forth a penetrating look of enquiry from beneath a prominent brow that seemed to be the seat of intelligence: the lower part of his face was well made; his teeth were very white, his

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lips seemed ever ready to express something good humoured or witty. His whole physiognomy, compared with that of his late father, possessed less dignity, but more benevolence; less chief-like superiority, but more intellect: his whole exterior was calculated to win the esteem of the wise and good, while that of his father was well adapted to command the admiration of the multitude. The character of the father was associated with the sublime and powerful; that of the son with the beautiful and engaging. His language was strong, concise, and expressive, with a voice powerful, deep, and melodious. His eloquence fell short of effect compared with that of his father, but he did not possess the art of dissimulation. The speech which he made on coming into power struck all the mataboules with astonishment; they wondered to hear so much eloquence tempered with wisdom, so much modesty combined with firmness, proceed from the lips of so young a man; and they prophesied well of him,—that he would reign in the affections of his people, and have no conspiracies or civil disturbances to fear. His general deportment was engaging; his step firm, manly and graceful: he excelled in all athletic sports, racing, wrestling, boxing, and club-fighting: he was cool and courageous, but a lover of peace. He was fond of mirth

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and good humour: he was a most graceful dancer: he was passionately delighted with romantic scenery, poetry, and vocal concerts: these last had been set aside, in a great measure, during his father's warlike reign; but when the son came into power, he revived them, and had bands of professed singers at his house almost every night. He used to say that the song* amused men's minds, and made them accord with each other,—caused them to love their country, and to hate conspiracies. He was of a most humane and benevolent disposition, but far, very far from being weak in this respect, for he was a lover of justice: the people readily referred to him for a decision of their private quarrels, on which occasions he was never thought to have judged rashly; if he could not immediately decide, he adjourned the cause till the next day, and in the mean time took the trouble to enquire further particulars of those who knew more of the matter. If he was severe with any body, it was with his own servants, for he used to say that his father was too partial to them, by which means they had become assuming, taking upon themselves the character of chiefs, and oppressing others of the lower orders, but now he would make them know their proper places. If they did any thing

* Their songs are mostly descriptive of scenery.

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wrong, they trembled in his presence. Nevertheless, the benevolence of his heart was wonderfully expressed in his manners: while he was yet on board the ship, Captain Fisk desired Mr. Mariner to tell him that it would be bad policy for him ever to attempt taking a ship, as it would prevent other ships coming to trade with them, or, if they came at all, it might be to punish him and his people for their treachery: as soon as Finow understood what the captain said, he made a step forward to Mr. Mariner, and taking his hand, pressed it cordially between his*, saying with tears in his eyes, and a most benevolent and grateful expression of feature, "Tell the chief that I shall al-"ways consider the Papalangies as my relations, "—as my dearest brothers; and rather would I "lose my life than take any thing from them "by force or treachery." He had scarcely finished speaking when the captain exclaimed, "I see, I see what he means,—you need not "translate me that!"

Finow's intellect was also very extraordinary, that is to say, it was naturally very strong, and was very little obscured by prejudices; we have seen several instances of the wisdom of his con-

*He had learnt the action of taking the hand from the Englishmen there, and used to say it was the most friendly and most expressive way of denoting one's feeling of sincerity.

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ful veneration, that amounted to what was little short of idolatry; for finding that Mr. Mariner could not explain why it always pointed more or less to the north, he could hardly be persuaded but what it was inspired by a *hotooa*. He was so pleased with this property of the compass, that he almost always carried it about him afterwards: using it much oftener than was necessary both at sea and on shore, for it always seemed a new thing to him.

It may easily be supposed, that Finow, with such an inquiring mind as he possessed, took delight in every thing that afforded him instruction, or satisfied his curiosity; not only in regard to things that were very extraordinary, but those also that were moderately common and useful. He was accustomed, therefore, to visit the houses of canoe-builders and carpenters, that he might learn their respective arts, and he often made very judicious observations. He very frequently went into the country to inspect the plantations, and became a very good agriculturist, setting an example to all the young chiefs, that they might learn what was useful, and employ their time profitably. He used to say, that the best way to enjoy one's food was to make oneself hungry by attending to the cultivation of it.

There were many individuals at the Tonga

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islands besides Finow, that possessed uncommon intellect, as well as good disposition of heart, but none of them seemed endowed with that extraordinary desire of investigation which so strongly characterised the king. Among the most remarkable of these were his uncle, Finow Fiji, and his friend, Hala Api Api. The first of these was venerated for his wisdom; a quality which he derived rather from his great experience, steady temper of mind, and natural solid judgment, than from the light of extraordinary intellectual research. Nevertheless, this divine quality was marked in his countenance; there was something graceful and venerable about his forehead and brow that commanded respect and confidence. He had no quick sparkling look of ardour, nor fire of impetuosity, but his deep-seated eye seemed to speculate deliberately upon objects of importance and utility. His whole physiognomy was overshadowed by a cast of sublime melancholy, but he had been one of the greatest warriors that Tonga ever produced. The islands of Fiji, (whence he derived his name), had been the scenes of his achievements, and the stories recorded of him equalled those of romance; his arm had dispensed death to many a Fiji warrior, whose surviving friends still recollect the terror of his name; but all the warlike propensities of this mighty chieftain seemed

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now absorbed in a conviction of the vanity and absurdity of useless bloodshed; and nothing seemed now to afford him a greater pleasure, (next to giving counsel to those who asked it), than to play with little children, and to mingle with unwonted cheerfulness in their amusements. Finow Fiji was perhaps about fifty years of age*, and was become rather corpulent: his whole demeanour was not erect, powerful, and commanding, like that of his brother, the late king, but his slow step and steady action shewed something of solid worth in his character, that wrought respect in the beholder without any mixture of fear.—It has just been said, that Finow Fiji performed most of his warlike feats at the Fiji islands: the greater part of the time that he was there, Hala Api Api†, though a much younger man, (about thirty,) was his constant friend and companion; they always fought near together, and were said to have owed their lives to each other thirty or forty times over. The mutual friendship of these two was very great, although their characters were widely different in many respects.

To form a tolerable idea of Hala Api Api,

* No native of Tonga knows his age, for no account of the revolution of years is kept.

† The young chief whose conduct towards Talo has been related.

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[142] we must conceive to ourselves a slim yet athletic and active figure, of a middling stature, full of fire and impetuosity; endowed with a mind replete with the most romantic notions of heroic bravery: full of mischief (without malignity), wrought up with the most exuberant generosity: the heat and inconstancy of youth was in him strangely mixed with the steadiness and wisdom of age: no man performed more mischievous tricks than he, at the expense of the lower orders, and yet they all liked him: if any other chief oppressed them, they flew to Hala Api Api for redress, and he always defended their cause as if it was his own, often at the risk of his life; and this he did seemingly from pure motives of pity. He would weep at the distress of which they complained, and the next moment his eyes would flash with indignation, at the injustice of the oppressor, and seizing his club, he would sally forth to redress their wrongs. If he committed any depredations himself he would sometimes be equally sorry, and make ample reparation. On other occasions, however, his mind would remain for a considerable length of time in the same wild and ungovernable disposition; and the report of his depredations would reach the king's ears (the late king), who would say, "what shall I do with this Hala "Api Api? I believe I must kill him." But

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Hala Api Api neither feared death nor the king, nor any other power. There was nobody but what liked him, and yet every body feared him. His mind was like a powerful flame, constantly in action, and constantly feeding upon every thing that could be made food of. Talk to him about battles, and he looked as if he were inspired. Relate to him a pathetic story, and the tears would run down his cheeks faster than you could count them. Tell him a good joke, and there was nobody would laugh more heartily than he. The late king used to say, that Hala Api Api would prefer two days hard fighting without food more readily than the most peaceable man would two days food without fighting. No sooner did the younger Finow come to be king, than his friend, Hala Api Api, (to the astonishment of every body), left off his mischievous tricks, and ceased to commit any acts of depredation. On being asked by Mr. Mariner, his reason for this, he replied:—"The present king "is a young man, without much experience, and "I think I ought not to throw obstacles in the "way of his peaceable government, by making "him uneasy, or creating disturbances. The old "king had great experience, and knew how to "quell disturbances: besides, he was fond of "fighting, and so I gratified my humour, without "caring about the consequences; but such con-

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"duct now might be very bad for the country." Hala Api Api's countenance, and his whole figure, very well pourtrayed his character: his small quick eye gave an idea of wonderful activity; and, though he looked as if he were a mischievous fellow, yet his general physiognomy expressed much generosity, good sense, and understanding: his whole body was exceedingly well proportioned, and he was considered one of the best made men at Vavaoo. He was beyond conception swift of foot; to see him run, you would think he outstripped the wind; the grass seemed not to bend beneath his feet, and on the beach you would scarcely expect to find the traces of his footstep.

Such is a general sketch of some of the principal men of Vavaoo, who had always behaved in a most friendly way to Mr. Mariner, and whom of course he could not help feeling very great regret at parting with. His attention was soon occupied, however, by the arrival of the ship at the Hapai islands, where she stood off and on during the time she remained (two days) between the islands of Haano and Lefooga.

A vast number of canoes came alongside from the neighbouring islands, and several of the chiefs were allowed to come on board. Mr. Mariner now took the earliest opportunity, in

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disinterestedness and generosity in the person of Hala A'pi A'pi, in his liberal conduct towards his friend Talo (see vol. ii. p. 7). He said afterwards that he knew very well that Talo was no coward, but that a little petulance or disappointed vanity had occasioned him to make the first false step, of which he was afterwards so ashamed, and was so confused that he had not the proper use of his judgment; and that he (Hala A'pi A'pi), knowing what must be the wounded state of his feelings, pitied his situation; and immediately sought a reconciliation. Hala A'pi A'pi indeed, in the fiery wildness of his disposition, often committed excesses; but his general character rendered him universally beloved. He was generous perhaps in the extreme; he was endowed with a certain share of wisdom: he knew well what was right, and, what is still better, he practised it. (See his character, vol. ii. p. 50.) We have given here but two glowing instances of liberal sentiment; but we must reflect that they were universally admired: accordingly, the principle on which they were admired must of course be universally felt; and it would be strange indeed, if the fruits of such sentiments were shewn only in a few solitary instances. The attentive reader will have discovered others; but if it be necessary to give another, we beg to cite one of a nature different from either of the above. The

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dilatoriness in cutting down the tree had provided a mode of ingress to the disturber of domestic peace; "It was your *foui* that did it." 539 [461]

The application is exactly parallel to the English phrase that it is So-and-so's own fault. The full expression as given above is not always used, but one frequently says, "It is his own *foui*," that is, "It is his own fault."

27. Hange ha kainikavea: Like a parasite. 539

Kainikavea means a tree which has taken root in the living trunk or branches of another tree finally growing so large as to envelop and conceal its host. The banyan has this habit. Proverbially the phrase is used of a supplanter, one who usurps the rights and privileges of another. 824 571 829

28. Hange ha lou milemila: Like a strip of *milemila*. 539

The *milemila* is a strip of the outer cuticle of the leaves of plants such as the coconut and fan-palm. These strips turn white when dried and bunches of them are used as head ornaments by warriors and dancers. The expression is used of things that are thin and light, and of thin people. 245 824 301 [826]

29. Hange ha lou vahivahi: Like a *vahivahi* leaf. 539

The *vahivahi* is a little plant found in considerable quantity on the island of Eua, whose leaves are in constant motion even when the breeze is scarcely perceptible. Used of one who is very obedient, is never still but always running about doing the bidding of others. 824 554 829

30. Hange ha mahelei to: Like a strip of sugar cane. 539

Applied to a thin person, a narrow piece of cloth, and generally to meagre, scanty objects, the comparison being to a thin, sharp-edged, pointed piece of the outer bark of the sugar cane. 824 826

31. Hange ha niu afangia: Like a nut-tree blown by a hurricane. 539 824 522

Used especially of a man who sways with laughter, like a nut-tree swayed by the wind.

32. Hange ha niu auulu: Like a nut tree with the leaves cut off. 539

This is Tongan banter of a tall person. A coconut tree with the leaves cut off is certainly a very lanky looking object. A touch of poignancy is given to the expression by the fact that the trees so treated are never good bearing varieties, but an unfruitful kind that nobody cares much about. 824 826

33. Hange ha tahii toa: Like heart of iron-wood (*Casuarina equisetifolia*). 539 824 157

Hard, firm, as we say, "heart of oak."

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145. Liu ka moko: Lizard climbing upside down. 539 825 554

The lizard comes down a tree head first, and there is occasionally a man so skillful in climbing that he is able to imitate the reptile in this. To such a man this expression would be applied, but it is used generally of one who has some special way of his own of doing some particular feat or who possesses some extraordinary skill that enables him to bring off feats that the ordinary mortal would scarcely attempt.

146. Moko looa: Choking lizard. 539 825 [264]

Applied to a person whose neck is stretched out like that of the lizard in his distressful attempts to swallow. (Compare Nos. 167 and 177.)

147. Kuma aka ki he pusi: Rat kicking at the cat. [571] [157]

Generally of the weak behaving presumptuously to the strong.

148. Pekopeko a pusi kai moa: Quiet mournfulness of a cat that eats fowls. 539 825 829 577 157

The hypocrisy of one whose sad-eyed propriety in the presence of others is belied by the mischief to which he readily turns when free from observation is likened to the conduct of the cat whose demure abstention from chicken flesh does not outlast the presence of human observers. (The cat, with its English name *pusi*, is a late introduction.)

149. Pakau a puaka tuu a: Leanness of a pig kept in a sty. 539 825 231 262

The pig kept in a sty does not become so fleshy as the pig allowed to wander freely, but when put to the test of eating the pig from the sty is found to have more fat on him than his brother who enjoyed greater liberty. So used of that which is lean to the eye but is found to have much fat.

150. Puaka ne maa toe fakapelepela: A pig that was clean again covered with mud. 539 825 231

Equivalent to the Biblical saying about the sow that had washed turning to wallowing in the mire, and possibly a translation of it.

151. Pukepuke a fufula: Grasping a big fat pig.

This is a task that demands the whole of one's strength and care. Tradition says that a big prime pig used to be kept in a sty in Taanea in Vavau, and that Maui Atalanga and his son Maui Kijikiji went to get it. As the younger Maui went to lay hands on the animal his father exhorted him to grasp it firmly lest it escape. This incident, however, does not seem to be claimed as the origin of the expression.

152. Hage ha fononga pulumokau: Like a troop of cattle.

Pulu-mo-kau, bull-and-cow, is used as a name for either bull or cow. It is of course recent. Applied particularly to great waves at sea and also generally to large things. [823]

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539 235 829 **166. Kio mo kokono:** Literally chirping and straining.

A name applied to chickens. Rather an abusive epithet applied to persons meaning that they are chickens, that they cannot do much and what little they do is only accomplished with a good deal of straining.

167. Moa looa: Choking fowl.

Applied to one who is nursing some sting; or who for some other reason sits with uplifted head and preoccupied stare. His attitude is likened to that of the straining fowl. (Compare Nos. 146 and 177.)

168. Moa tangata fie moa taane: Cock who wants to be breeding cock.

"Breeding cock" is perhaps not exactly a literal translation of *moa taane* which means rather a fine, big, specially strong cock. Birds of this stamp, however, are kept for breeding purposes and to discharge the responsibilities of caring for a family. More ordinary cocks find their way to the pot or, more strictly, the banana leaf. This indicates the conceit of an ordinary rooster who wants to be like his big strong brother. So of the little ordinary chap who gives himself the airs of his betters. [157]

539 825 [137] **168. Hange ha veka kui:** Like a blind rail *(veka, Rallus pectoralis)*.

Wild, uncoordinated action such as might be expected from a blind bird.

539 825 571 626 **170. Kai pe tae hoo veka:** Eat the excrement of your rail.

Eat the fruit of one's own work. Used in reproach to one who is enjoying by himself the reward of his labor, by those who think that they should have shared it with him.

539 825 515 **171. Kaukau faka-veka:** Bathing like a rail.

The rail is not very fond of water. The expression is applied to a human being who manifests the same distaste.

539 825 561 **172. Kiki tou veka:** Young rail generation of rails.

The young bird is not in the same generation with the full grown birds. Used by anyone who wishes to emphasize that another is much older than he. I am no more in the same generation with so-and-so than the young rail is in the same generation with the full grown bird.

539 825 515 **173. Taka tahi a veka:** The rail going about at sea.

The rail may fly down to the sea or, in ancient days, may have been taken on a voyage by those whose god he was, but in spite of his proximity to the water he does not bathe. Used of one who goes down to the sea but does not take advantage of the opportunity to bathe; is contented to remain dirty.

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187. Pekepeka jio ohuafi: Swift seeing smoke. 539 825

The swift (*Collocallia spodiopyga*) is attracted by the smoke of fires. The expression is used of a person who is constantly making for the fires of his neighbors, that is, who prepares very little food for himself but when he notices the culinary smoke ascending from some other home invites himself there for dinner. The Tongan is very open-handed, but this chap rather overdoes the giving of opportunity to other people to prove that it is more blessed to give than to receive. (Compare No. 86.) 829 571 574 431 [136]

188. Pikipiki aho: Wings folded by day. 539 825

Night birds sit with wings folded during the day. The expression is used of those who don't do much by day but who prowl about at night, very often getting into mischief. 829

189. Tee pato: Duck excrement. 539 825

The missionaries were the first to bring the Muscovy duck to Tonga, and people who were specially anxious to appear well in the eyes of the missionaries would not hesitate to assist them by cleaning up the mess made by the ducks. The expression, therefore, is used of one who does all he can to secure the favor of the missionaries. 797 554 157 a

190. Vea tee peka: Vea flying-fox dung. 539 825

A man called Vea lived for a long time with a great chief but at last did something for which he was punished. Spoiling one's prosperity or long service by a fault. 571

FISH

191. Angaanga mo fai: The name of a shark whose head is like that of the *fai*, sting ray, and whose tail is like that of the shark called *anga*. 539 825 157

Applied to those of uncertain character, now one thing and then another.

192. Faka-ikeika-lahi: Like a big fish.

Applied to one of a bold resolute deportment.

193. Fakalelei a tukuku: Peace-making of a *tukuku*. 539 825

The *tukuku* is a small fish (one of the Glyphidodon). This is used derisively of the little chap trying to make things right between those who are bigger, or socially superior, to himself. 571 [136]

194. Fotu ae ulua ngalo ae tukuku: The *ulua* appears, the *tukuku* is forgotten. 539 226 584 554

The *ulua* and *tukuku* are two fish, the *tukuku* being small and bony, and the *ulua* large and fleshy. If fishermen are catching the *tukuku* and

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oned rather to the father (the head) than to the mother (the tail). Instead of the word *hiku, mahi,* which means the tail, is sometimes used. 539 825 592

201. Hola ae fai kae tuku ae foto: The sting-ray has gone but the barb is left. 539 825

When the sting-ray strikes with its tail the barb that enters the body struck is commonly broken off and left in the wound. The fish may swim away but the poisonous, wounding, painful barb is left. Those who have caused suffering may have gone away but the mischief wrought by them still persists. The evil men do lives after them. 829 571

202. Ika faao: Predatory fish; fish that prey on other fish.

It is explained as primarily relating to a fish which comes and seizes a smaller fish from the hook of a man who has caught it, thus violently capturing the fisherman's property. This is well in keeping with the literal meaning of *faao,* but the expression is used generally of one creature which preys on another. [226]

203. Jii a maanga ika maka: Small mouthful (but) rock fish. 539

The Tongan words *ika maka,* translated "rock fish," indicate fish found under the rocks, at the bottom of the sea, or far from land, and which are of superior quality to those found close inshore or near the surface. The phrase means, therefore, that which is small in quantity but of good quality. (Compare No. 85.) 825 183

204. Lakulaku tee-feke: Handling black secretion of octopus. 539

Although the black secretion found in the head of the octopus is eaten with the rest of the fish, it is handled gingerly on account of aversion to its color. The expression is applied particularly to one who is not expert in preparing kava. Instead of grasping the strainer or kava firmly and masterfully the inexpert operator handles the materials diffidently and awkwardly. 226 262 272

205. Luki tenifa i hono tahi: Challenge a shark in his own sea. 539

This species of shark, the *tenifa,* is large and fierce and will attack men. The folly of jumping into the water just where he is and challenging him to single combat is obvious. So the phrase indicates the foolish effrontery of challenging one to contest in that wherein he is superior or under circumstances which give him a marked advantage. 226 571 825

206. Mohemohe a tenifa: Dozing of *tenifa.* 539

The *tenifa,* a large fierce shark, may doze, but when he wakes he wakes to violent activity. Applied to one who is spasmodic; he is inert at one time but at another is working with fierce energy. (See Nos. 207 and 208.) 825 157

207. Mohe faka-tenifa: Sleep *tenifa* fashion; *tenifa*-like sleep.

The shark *tenifa* is a very long and sound sleeper; his slumbers sometimes lasting for a day or more. Applied to people who sleep long and scundly. [513]

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539 825 226 It is said that a man of Vavau out one day in a canoe saw a *tenifa* lying asleep below the surface of the sea. He dived and fastened a rope to the shark's tail, returned to his boat, which he overturned and sat on the upturned bottom. He then waked the shark, or else it waked of its own accord, and let it drag the boat wherever it would till at length it was exhausted. He then was able to get it ashore where the people killed it and probably ate it. This story is vouched for as true and there is no reason to doubt it.

539 825 157 **208. Hange ha tenifa:** Like a *tenifa*.

Applied to persons of fierce, destructive temperament.

539 226 **209. Mata ika fai ki he pupua:** Looking at fish in a whirl-pool.

Fish in the deep swirling waters found both in holes in the reefs and in places out at sea will be very hard to get, however longingly one may gaze at them. The expression is used of something that one desires but is unable to obtain.

539 825 571 **210. Tafitafi o:** Sweeping *o*.

The *o* is a small fish of considerable repute and evidently energetic and daring. When this fish appears the other little fishes in the vicinity make for shelter; he sweeps the sea clear. When a great man appears the smaller fry quietly disperse.

539 825 578 **211. Tau ae ika taane:** Fight of great fish, as of sharks or swordfish.

When battle is joined between these strong fierce monsters of the deep the sea is churned into foam; the contest is long and stern. So used of the struggles of redoubtable champions.

539 825 193 **212. Tau ae lei moe tofuaa:** The whale's tooth befits the whale.

A big thing becomes a big person.

213. Te leleva te pokumei: *Leleva* floating, *pokumei* floating.

539 825 829 The *leleva* and the *pokumei* are two sorts of fish, of which the *leleva* is held in high esteem but the *pokumei* is comparatively disregarded. The phrase is used of people of little importance making preparations for anything in imitation of those who cut a bigger figure. For example, it might be spoken pleasantly to children who want to go out anywhere because they see their elders about to go.

FISHING

539 226 **214. Ai ke mahae pea toki pena:** Let (it) be torn and mended afterwards.

Refers primarily to a fishing net. Go on using it as much as you like and if any damage is done to it, it can easily be repaired. Employed generally of other things besides the fishing net, but with the same meaning.

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239. Unga toho ngeeji: Hermit crab dragging shell. 539 825 461

The hermit crab, burdened as he is with the shell of some other creature, makes only slow progress when he moves. This expression is used of one who is slow in his work or movements.

240. Koe loli foki e vau: The sea-slug (*Holothuria atra*) anyway will be scraped. 539 252 226 [136]

This sea-slug is found in great numbers on the reefs; before it is eaten its outer bitter skin is scraped off. If those who go out on the reef for shell-fish and the like fail in finding anything else they are sure to be able to get some sea-slugs to scrape. Used of conversation which failing [521] of topics comes round to some thread-bare subject or well-worn scandal.

241. Pulou kema: Veiled with a clam-shell. 539 735 571 157 237

Used to one who is ashamed to make a request. It is like saying "put a clam-shell over your face so that it cannot be seen and then beg for what you want." Also used of one who is very ready at begging things from others. He is as though he had no shame, as though his face were always shielded from observation. (Compare No. 395.)

242. Tafola vetevete afi: *Tafola* scattering fire. 539 252 [857]

The *tafola* is a kind of crab which is cooked by being thrown alive into the embers and whose death agony is marked by violent struggles which scatter the fire. The expression is used of a disobedient child who apparently makes a moral dispersal of his elders' commands analogous to the displacing of the fire by the luckless crab.

243. Takanga a pipi mo kahi: Companionship of the *pipi* and *kahi*. 539 825 571

The *pipi* and the *kahi* are two shell-fish which are often found together, but the *kahi* devours the *pipi*. It is like the companionship of a simpleton with a sharper who fleeces him. Baker translates the phrase: "To make a pet or comrade of one who will cause trouble or pain." (Compare No. 47.)

244. Tanu a uu: The burying of the robber crab, or the robber crab buries himself. 539 825

The robber crab (*Birgus latro*), burrows into the sand and buries himself, often for months at a time. He remains under ground so long that one might think he was dead but one day he comes again to the surface. So used of a thing that is long out of sight but at length comes again to light.

245. Tonuhia ae kaloaa ka koe vaka: The *kaloaa* is in the right but it is the boat. 539 825 183 [36]

The *kaloaa* is a shell-fish (*Arca scapha*?) which does not move about, unlike the boat which goes and comes at will. So if any disagreement

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539 821 461 183 **293. Mokomoko aho:** Coolness (of) day.

This indicates the coolness which precedes the dawn, and is thus a harbinger of day. It is used to encourage those who are getting towards the end of a task. Persevere, be of good heart, we are close to daylight, we have nearly finished.

539 821 **294. To lelei ae ataata:** The dusk falling well, "The sun setting in a clear sky" (Baker).

A sign of fair weather; has the same applications as similar expressions in English.

539 821 571 829 **295. Afa ka e tofu:** Hurricane but there will be calm.

An exhortation to people in hardship not to make their present difficulties an excuse for neglecting the kindnesses which men owe to each other. The present adversity may make it difficult to do a kindness to a neighbor, but prosperity will return and then the neglected opportunities of showing good-will will be remembered with shame.

539 821 **296. Fakatofutofu kae hiko:** Calm but about to blow; apparently well but again falling upon evil.

The expression originates with the hurricane. As the wind veers there is a calm; after this interval the wind blows again from another quarter with as great violence as before. The word *hiko* translated above as "blow" has perhaps the signification of moving on to another quarter. [524] In the game of *lafo* this word is used of a disc which passes another and lies nearer to the scoring-line.

297. Hange ho aho tafitonga: Like a clear bright day (literally day swept by the south wind).

[157] Applied to persons of open, serene countenance.

298. Matafi e tonga ho finangalo: May the south wind sweep your mind; may your mind be serene and unruffled.

[157] The translation given here is probably literally correct but *tafitonga*, which seems literally to mean "swept by the south wind," is felt and written as a single word meaning "clear, serene," and is constantly used of fine weather, and figuratively of the mind.

299. Hange ha aho tuutuu taufa: Like a day of intermittent gale.

[157] A day that is neither consistently fine nor uninterruptedly stormy. Applied to persons and things which show a mingling of various characteristics.

300. Hiko hiko puku: Blow, blow short.

[183] Refers primarily to the wind blowing in short squalls following quickly one another. Used of things good or bad following quickly one after

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sea. These brothers were chiefs, each with his own followers, and the angry man's followers went with their master over the cliff. Among them was a Samoan. The party were turned into porpoises, and the tattooing on the Samoan's body is the origin of the marking on the belly of the porpoise. 539 571 825

314. Feofaaki a kakau: Mutual affection of swimmers. 539

Kindly feelings for each other felt by those who have very little opportunity of translating their sentiments into actions, just as men swimming away from a wrecked boat can do very little for each other however much they may desire to. 571 481

315. Ha ha mo lofia: Appearing, appearing and awash. 539

Used of that which shows up and disappears at intervals, like an object floating in the sea, which is visible for an instant and then is hidden from sight by the waves. 823

316. Hange ha pa utu: Like a steep cliff.

Used of that which stands firm and unshaken no matter what storms of trial beat against it. The picture is that of a great cliff unmoved by the dashing waves.

317. Hange ha tahi hua: Like an incoming tide.

A resistless thing.

318. Matemate a liku: The *liku* still.

The *liku* is the weather side of the island, usually protected by a broad shelf of rock, and always presenting a rock-bound inhospitable coast. Even when the tide is out and the sea smooth, leaving the shelf of reef dry and bare, one cannot altogether trust appearances for a sudden wave may come up and perhaps overwhelm those who are exposed in dangerous places on the rocks. Appearances that cannot be trusted. [183]

319. Laku maka fai ki tahi (or moana): Casting stones into the sea (or ocean).

A type of a useless labor; the stones are lost but the sea is not dammed up.

320. Likuliku mo ao: Windward and leeward.

The sea breaks heavily on the weather side but there is calm on the leeward side. This mixture of rough and calm is used proverbially of one whose character displays like inconsistencies; at one time he seems an honest man, and at another a liar; at one time kindly, and at another harsh. [157]

321. Limu tuu i au: Seaweed standing in current. 539

That which is unstable, like seaweed constantly moved by the water. 824

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539 This tree in Pulotu is called by the Tongans the *puko lea*, speaking
773 *puko*, and it is curious that a tree in Samoa which has an equivalent name
571 (*pu'aQ* and which is apparently the same tree, is called *pu'angungunu*,
824 speaking *pu'a*. (Krämer, Samoa-Inseln, II Band, p. 381.)

RELIGION

539 **370. E unua e tevolo:** The devil will be shifted.
776 Applied to one who is very hard to move. The idea is that it would
157 be easier to shift a devil than such a one, hard as devils are to move. (Compare Nos. 358, 340 and 133.)

539 **371. Fahu ae tapu:** The prohibition is removed.
554 The word *fahu*, which is of great importance in the understanding of
565 the social organization, indicates broadly rights enjoyed by reason of super-
784 ior family rank. A tabu can be removed by one who has this superiority to the one who imposed it, and *fahu* thus comes to be a technical word for the removal of tabu. As a question this phrase is used to rebuke one who has presumed to do that which he should not.

539 **372. Faka-momoa-tea:** White fowl fashion.
825 This seems to be the literal translation, taking *momoa* as the redupli-
787 cated form of *moa*, fowl. The white fowl is said to be an omen bird.
201 There are two principal senses in which the word is used; first, ominous, presaging evil; second, to weep for the living as though they were dead.

539 **373. Hange ko Hina:** Like Hina.
776 Hina was one of the most talked of goddesses, as Jinilau was one of
773 the most talked of gods. Both are represented as very beautiful. Should a discussion arise as to the identity of a goddess in a tale the story was likely to be finally credited to Hina. Similarly Jinilau would probably be
[824] hit on if the name of a male diety were in question. So to say that anyone is like Hina means that he is much talked of, or much abused.

539 **374. Hia i Fanakava:** Criminal in Fanakava.
778 Fanakava was the name of a very famous sanctuary in Mua, the chief
681 district of Tongatabu, and the home of the Tui Tonga and of other great lords. Up to the introduction of Christianity Fanakava afforded an inviolable sanctuary to all who gained it. The expression indicates a person guilty of some offense but secure from punishment.

539 **375. Ji e he tevolo:** The devil pushing.
776 Used sarcastically to one who is making a poor apology for his bad
183 conduct, "H'm, the devil shoved you into it." This phrase, which is recent, is said to have originated with a man who went visiting a lady he should not have visited, and who, when put on trial for his conduct, defended himself by saying that he went to the woman without knowing what he was doing and that he supposed the devil must have thrust him into the house.

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539 776 825 571 of the creatures of which the gods "made boats," as Tongan idiom has it, that is, in which they appeared. The proverb is applied to one who makes use of some other person or thing in order to effect his purpose.

382. To fuji aki vahaa ufi:

539 782 244 Baker renders this phrase, "A part of the heathen ceremony at the *Inaji*" (An English and Tongan and Tongan and English Vocabulary, p. 209). We have been able to find out nothing about this. Written as above it seems to have the perfectly simple sense of planting plantains between yams. It has been suggested that the correct meaning may be: to use the space between the yams as a measure to calculate the distance apart to plant the plantains. This also is quite in accordance with the literal meaning of the words. We may divide differently, and write, *Tofuji aki vahaa ufi*, which would seem to mean, "running in between yams." We have not discovered either what part of the *Inaji* was so named, nor what proverbial application the phrase had.

THE PERSON

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

539 302 157 554 565 **383. Fie namu pako:** - Wishing to smell of *pako*.

The *pako* is a sweet smelling plant used for scenting oil, especially the oil of chiefs. The expression is capable of two kinds of application: desiring to do well that one's life and actions may have a fragrant odor, and the less generous meaning of conceit, trying to be like the chiefs.

539 735 291 **384. Fuji mo omo:** Pulling and slipping.

Used as noun or adjective equivalent to poverty, poor. Said to indicate literally one who is so poor that he cannot afford enough cloth for a proper sized *vala* (kilt), but has to put up with something so small that when he pulls it one way to cover a part of his body another part is left bare. Whether this be so or not it has come to mean those who have difficulty in "making ends meet."

539 291 301 **385. Laukau falelava:** Finery of various sorts.

Laukau, personal adornment, is used with the rather depreciatory nuance with which in English we speak of overdone, or over-vivid finery. *Laukau falelava* is not unlike such a colloquialism as, "Having 'em all on."

539 421 513 **386. Mafana a penu kehe:** Warmth of another's bed-clothes.

One man may have made himself very snug in another's covering, but can have no real ground of complaint when the rightful owner comes along and takes what belongs to him, leaving the snug man cold. So generally one may enjoy the advantage of using another man's property but he has no kick coming when the owner takes it to use for himself.

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539 152 **393. Hange ha matai fana hala:** Like the face of a man who has missed his aim.

201 521 Such a man will be ashamed of his poor shot (with gun or bow and arrows), and may attempt to hide his confusion with inconsequent talk. Used of someone who has done what he is ashamed of, and whose shame is betrayed in his face and talk.

539 481 828 **394. Hange ha tangitofuhia:** Like a bewildered diver.

Tangitofuhia is used of the bleeding from nose and ears caused by staying a long time under water. In this place it seems rather to refer to a partial loss of consciousness resulting perhaps from striking the head or of staying under water too long, which renders the diver unable to find his way again to the surface. The unfortunate diver will swim about at random in his vain efforts to come up. Applied to one who wanders aimlessly about, or whose thoughs are erratic and disjointed.

539 571 157 **395. Hange kuo takai kapa hono lae:** As though his forehead were sheathed in metal.

Kapa is the local variation of copper, and is used for metal generally. This would seem to be altogether modern, probably suggested by Biblical language, though the same idea of hardy shamelessness is expressed in the Tongan phrase "Veiled with clam-shell." (See No. 241.)

539 571 522 **396. Kamo lalo:** Making secret signs.

Not strictly a proverb; it means that a number of people sitting together one is ironically complimenting another, or in some other way fooling him, at the same time making signs to the rest of the company and thus admitting them into the joke. It is used very much like the Australianism "pulling his leg."

539 152 201 **397. Katakata a nifo tea:** Smiling white teeth.

This is what Uncle Remus calls "a fit of the dry grins." A man may try to cover his shame or confusion with a smile; his teeth will be showing white as though he were smiling but the real feeling of his heart is far from laughter.

539 152 **398. Lau lau louhulu:** Fingering, fingering dried leaves.

A man who is ashamed or embarrassed is likely to break off a piece of the dried leaves with which the houses are floored and keep twisting it about in his hands as he talks; if outside of the house he will pick up any stick or other such thing that happens to be at hand.

[461] So used generally of doing some more or less irrelevant thing to cover up deficiencies, or to hide one's shame and embarrassment, just as a man who is behind with his work may start hustling round to give the impression that he has been hard at it for hours.

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539 524 piece and knock his opponent's piece off the mat, make it jump off the mat, without disturbing his own first piece. If this move is brought off successfully the man who makes it will have two pieces of his own in good positions, and will have put one of his opponent's pieces out of action. Proverbially it means that there is an obstacle ahead but it can be shifted.

HEU LUPE

223 The sport of *heu lupe*, pigeon catching, was carried out on a mound. Trained pigeons were used as decoys, and when the quarry approached near enough it was caught in a large net mounted on a pair of long handles hinged near the bottom end. The man who manipulated the net closed the mouth of it when the pigeon was inside by bringing the hinged handles together.

539 223 **587. Ala i jia ala i kolonga:** Skillful in *jia*, skillful in *kolonga*.

This expression originates in the sport of pigeon snaring. The mound where the snaring was actually carried out is called the *jia* and the place where the work (largely culinary) necessary for the comfort of the sportsmen was done is called the *kolonga*. This expression means literally a man whose energy and ability are equally conspicuous in either place, and is freely used of a good all-round man. [157] [829]

588. Fakalaa i jia melie: Enduring sun on lucky pigeon mound.

Although the principal times for the pigeon snaring are the morning and evening, yet one will put up with the inconveniences of the midday sun if the sport be good. So in any pursuit one will put up with inconveniences and hardships so long as his object is attained. [183]

589. Fakalaa i jia tamaki: Enduring sun in bad pigeon-mound.

The reverse of No. 589; enduring hardship and inconvenience for what after all proves to be not worth the pains. [183]

590. Faka-mui-manoa: At end of tethering cord.

The *manoa* is the cord with which the tame decoy pigeon was tied. However far the pigeon went it could always be traced along the cord, provided that the near end of the cord was still in hand. It is applied to a thing that has been out of sight for some time, but is at last traced up and found.

Another explanation given is that the decoy pigeon has reached its quarry without all the cord running out, there is still more to follow, and it is said to be applied to a conversation or other employment discontinued for the time, but "to be continued in our next." (See No. 591.) [521]

591. Motu manoa: Separated (from) tethering cord.

The cord with which a decoy pigeon is tied has run out to its full length and been let go. Applied to a thing which is finished; there is no more to follow.

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613. Luki aka fai ki Fiji: Challenging Fiji to a kicking match. 539 829 648

Used of an immoderate boast or challenge. Fiji is a country far from Tonga, and its inhabitants are numerous. To challenge Fiji, therefore, is doubly an immoderate boast. To reach the scene of action is no mean task, and when the initial difficulty of navigation is overcome one's hands will be more than full with so many antagonists.

614. Matakai ngalo oua e kau ai: Don't count a forgotten *matakai*. 539 524

This refers primarily to the game of *fiji*, or flipping, which consists in flipping one by one a bundle of small light sticks from the bottom of an inverted basket, or some such stand, across which they are laid. The *matakai* in this instance are the sticks. When a player has successfully flipped all the sticks (not so easy by the way as it looks) he says, "no forgotten sticks are to count," thus saving himself from all penalty should any be found to have dropped down and been overlooked. The expression comes to be a sort of general forestalling of the effects of any sins of omission

615. Tua ka matakai pipiki: A chap to stick to the matakai.

The *matakai* is the object with which the game of *liaki*, and other games, were played. This phrase refers to the game of *liaki*, in which one player held a small object such as an orange seed between two fingers, clenching the fist. The man who held the *matakai* put his clenched fists out in front of him while his opponent, without touching him, tried to make him laugh or squirm and drop the *matakai*. A man who was invulnerable to all the attacks made on his nerves or risibility was able to keep his fists tight shut and hold the *matakai*. Applied to one who is adept at sticking to things, who keeps a firm hold on his property, and also applied to one who keeps his own counsel. [157]

DANCING

616. Haka i langi tau: Dancing to suitable music. 539 535 533

Where the music is good and rhythmic the dancing will be easy and attractive, a fit vehicle of rejoicing and calculated to cause pleasure to the beholders. Strictly the word *langi* seems to denote rather the line or group of singers than the music itself. This phrase, written as one word, is freely used in the sense of joy, rejoicing.

617. Malanga i faiva: Getting up during dance. 539 535 183 [524] [526] [537]

The word *faiva* is not confined to dances but is applied also to games and sports and generally to any employment requiring skill. The idea of this phrase is that of a man who should go, say, to a dance, not as a performer but simply as a spectator; but who during the dance is moved to get up and join in, though he has not practised for the occasion. He stands there in all his unpractised awkwardness among those who have perfected themselves in the movements. A useful warning for extemporaneous speakers.

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request," in some uncertainty as to whether to make the request or not. Baker, however, gives the somewhat cryptic forensic phrase, "Generally repeated; used when two persons report their cases, and the one hearing is alike affected by both." (An English and Tongan Vocabulary, p. 207.) 539 152 571 695

624. Fe-toutou-mo-liliu-aki: "To wander to and fro" (Baker). Constantly changing or going to and fro. 539 157

Of the different elements of this compound *toutou* is usually employed today as an adverb meaning constantly, repeatedly. Baker gives "alternate" as another meaning, and also has it as a verb, to reciprocate. *Mo* is the conjunction and *liliu* means to change; *fe-* and *-aki* are regularly used as prefix and suffix to make verbs reciprocal or reflexive. The whole word therefore seems to denote a very high degree of instability in opinion or conduct.

625. Hange ha mumu hulu: Like trying to get warm at a fire of dried leaves; a fire that flares up and quickly dies down. 539 183

Generally of that which makes a great show but is not solid and enduring.

626. Jio kalo jio: Seeing, warning off seeing.

The seeing indicated is that of looking after one's own interests. A man, in order to get something for himself, goes to a place where he has no particular right to be and tries to drive off another who is doing the same thing. [57]

627. Maka fetoliaki: Chipping rock with rock. 539 571

Baker translates the phrase, "To be of one mind; to use freely from each other's stores." To be of mutual benefit. It is explained as meaning literally to chip off a piece from one stone with another and then to take that piece and use it to chip a fragment from a third rock, and so on. Thus to pass a benefit on from one to another. This was illustrated by the coming of Christianity, brought by Europeans to Tonga, and taken by Tongans to Samoa and Fiji, and by Fijians to the Solomon Islands. [797 648]

628. Makaka noa: Hard to no purpose. 539 183 829

Noa, here translated "to no purpose" is a very largely used word, and extremely difficult to translate by an exact English equivalent. It is used in all sorts of contexts with such senses as purposeless, valueless, unreliable, being where one has no business to be, acting as one should not. In the phrase above the idea is that of a thing being hard where it should be pliable and soft. The phrase may be applied to that whose conduct is unexpected, not of a piece with the general behavior of the class of things to which it belongs. For example, the outlandish behavior of the goat has won this epithet for it. It may be used of one who goes with great vim into some job that is not really his concern. [825]

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element in the mixture. This was the first time that whites had ever thought to stay in Pangai. Suspicion of motives was therefore natural. It was only after some days that suspicion was supplanted by the acceptance of familiarity and we could slip into the everyday activities of the village. Some, however, even to the end, appeared dour and unresponsive. We had in fact the very definite impression that compared with some other Polynesian peoples, the Tongan villager was much less open-hearted and communicative than his kinsmen in other Pacific islands.

The average villager seems to have little personal acquaintance with any white people in Neiafu. He may recognize the doctor by sight, or one of the store-managers. His relations with them will consist in an exchanged greeting as he passes them on the road. With the postmaster in Neiafu his relations will be freer. This white man has lived in Tonga for many years, speaks Tongan fluently, acts also as customs-officer, deputy-treasurer, occasionally as acting-governor for Vava'u. He is friendly with the Tongans and they are friendly with him.

Intermarriage between whites and Tongans in Neiafu is rare, although, to judge by the number of half-castes that one meets, it has occurred frequently in the past. Reason for this rarity is that now most of the whites coming to Tonga bring their wives with them. Half-castes tend to marry into other half-caste families. The addition of white blood to Tongan ancestry seems to interest the villager little. A very few of the villagers are known to have had one or more white grand- or great-grandparents. The matter is unnoticed and is hardly worth a comment to the villager unless some enquiring white is seeking information. This intermarriage in the past has always been of white men with Tongan women. This fact, taken in conjunction with the numerical proportions of Tongans to whites in the Kingdom, may hold the key to an understanding of some of the factors of social change and stability noted in the following sections of this report.

Most of the contact between villager and whites today is carried on by village men. This applies particularly to Protestant men. Few if any of the Protestant women have come into even the most formal of contacts with white men

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177 609 795 [484] [872] or women, except perhaps a very occasional and formal meeting with a white missionary's wife. The case is slightly different for the Catholics of the village. At least once each week men and women journey to Neiafu to attend Mass. The women use this opportunity to consult with the Convent Sisters on matters that are of common interest. At least one of the adolescent girls in the village is a boarding-pupil at the Convent School and several of the village boys journey each day to attend this same school in Neiafu. The teachers here are naturally all women. It is likely therefore that Catholic girls, women, and some of the boys develop attitudes toward white women that differ sharply from those developed by their relatives who remain Protestants. It is also likely that one reason for cultural conservatism in the field for instance, of birth customs, lies in this fact that the village women have practically no opportunity to acquire any knowledge of the birth-customs and practices of white women.

177 609 291 [797] This reasoning would also appear to hold when applied as an explanation for conservatism in the village woman's dress. Her dress is of the overall sack-style known as the "Mother Hubbard," a style introduced by missionaries to the South Seas almost one hundred years ago. The style was then supposed to add a small amount of femininity to large amounts of modesty. It has been carried on unaltered to this day even though dress styles worn by the white women in Neiafu are only a little behind the latest Paris creation. Because of this lack of intimate contact however, between village women and white women there has been no incentive among the village women to alter or modify the old-fashioned Mother Hubbard dress.

177 [157] Some have suggested that in this matter of culture-contact women are more conservative than men in taking over elements from one culture to another. Whatever the worth of this generalization, if it is assumed to hold true for Tongan women and is then considered along with the relatively few contacts that village women make with whites, a still further key may lie in our hands for interpreting the dynamics of culture-contact in present-day Tonga.

Village women have no opportunity to engage in domestic service among the few white families in Neiafu,

461 the round of gardens until all the immediate work is finished.
464 Food for the day is provided by the partner on whose land
476 the work is being carried out. He generally prepares an oven to feed his companions.
571

This method of working is common village practice. In
461 discussing it an informant threw certain human sidelights on
464 work-habits which show how this type of partnership may
476 sometimes function. This informant said he never worked
571 in partnership with anyone. He believes he gets more done
124 by himself—it is obvious that he is not a true Tongan in this
[183] respect. The working partnership, he thinks, is merely a temptation to talk, rest, eat, and sleep rather than work. Some men are cunning in this respect. When the partners are working on A's field, A scorns all talk and insists on hard work for all three men. When in B's garden however, A thinks of the most wonderfully amusing stories to tell his companions and so little work is done by the end of the day. Informant mentioned the names of three men whom we had already observed to be a working partnership. Of the three,
[157] only C was a hard worker. The other two were sophisticated and cunning with the result that hard-working C was doing in reality all the work for all three men. C apparently did not realize the situation. The three men were the best of friends and for many days on end were to be observed going to their plantations in the morning, returning together in the evening laughing and joking. It is obvious therefore that as long as the utmost amount of work is not the end of activity, the working-partnership can function to the satisfaction of its members and get enough work done to make such organization worth while.

461 The other type of men's working-party, the *tou tu'u*,
476 functions when it is a matter of breaking-in virgin bush-
464 land. The owner of the land gets together a group of from
241 ten to twenty men. He assigns to each man a small section
571 of the bush-land. Each man clears his own section and
[431] generally plants it with yams. From the first harvest each man gives the owner of the land a present of from two to five yams and keeps the remainder for himself. Taro, *kape*, or sweet potato, may be planted instead of yams. After this
[425] first year of cultivation the owner resumes full control of his cleared land and plants it exclusively for himself. Through

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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5/-. It was only by tremendous effort that the auctioneer was able to increase the opening bid to twenty times its amount. This is not to be taken as implying in any way that Tongans are dishonest in money matters. They are just carelessly easy-going where money is concerned. Storekeeping in Tonga therefore, is perhaps fraught with more hazards than is usual elsewhere.

The itemized list of sales from the more reliable of the two native store managers in Pangai shows that about forty different articles were sold during the year. Table 9 shows the items of western European material culture that are significant to the culture of the Pangai villager today.

TABLE 9.—STORE SALES

Article	Percentage of Total Sales	Group Percentage of Total Sales
Canned meats	21	
Flour	14	
Sugar	11	70
Tobacco	10	
Piece-goods	7	
Soap	7	
Kerosene	5	
Fishlines	5	
Fishhooks	2	20
Canned fish	8	
Shirts	8	
Bushknives	2	
Matches, rope, crockery Singlets (vests), lanterns	Each item small	5
Spades, candy, blue Groceries (cocoa, canned milk, coffee, jam) Cotton thread Teething-powder	Each item very small	4
Ink, pencils, slate-pencils Buckets, tubs, umbrellas Needles	Each item smaller	1

This table lists materials and foods according to percentages based on volume of sales. This does not of course necessarily correspond to the value or status-position of these articles or goods in the lives of the villagers. Piece-

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

645 announce the change of Ministry. We therefore summoned our first Cabinet Council.

[341] It was held in the Parliament House, a large wooden building furnished with pews and a long table. At one [643] end was a faded crimson daïs surmounted with the royal [646] arms: here the king sits when he opens Parliament. We took our seats round the table, Tukuaho, as President, sitting at one end, and Mataka, with his shorthand notebook, at the other. Let me describe my colleagues.

[142] Asibeli Kubu, the Minister of Police, is a short, dark little man of about thirty, with a stiff moustache, and [157] erect rebellious black hair. He is full of restless energy, impulsive and boyish, full of loyalty to Tukuaho, and of devotion to his administration. His mother is Lavinia, 645 565 who would be Tui Tonga *fefine* if such dignities existed 554 nowadays; and his father is Inoke Fotu, a Judge of Vavau, a chief of the second rank. By his mother, therefore, 645 Kubu is a great chief. He began his official career as a Police Magistrate under the Baker *régime*, and got himself into sad disgrace by not convicting to order. Being a creature of impulse, and not endowed with calculating tact, our Minister of Police is safer under discipline than when left to his own judgment. To-day he is dressed in a suit of flannel pyjamas with *quasi*-military braid facings, his head is covered with an embroidered smoking-cap with a tassel, and his feet are bare.

[142] [302]

[291] *Sateki.*

Josateki, or Sateki as he is universally known, is a dif-

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

ferent stamp of man. A chief of the third rank in Vavau, he was selected by Mr Baker as his Paymaster and Assistant Premier because of his implicit obedience to orders and his power of silence. In person he is erect and slim, with grizzled hair and beard, and fine features deeply wrinkled. He lives only for his work: he is an official first and a man afterwards, a very rare quality for a native, to whom, as a rule, sustained purpose is unknown. We are not yet sure of Sateki. He is said to be hurt at my appointment as Assistant Premier, a post which, till now, he has nominally filled. If we once win him over we need not fear that he will desert us, but as he will not talk, and has never been known to laugh, he is difficult to conciliate.

The Lord Chief-Justice.

Then there was Ahomëe (day of dancing), the Lord Chief-Justice, a white-haired old gentleman, one of the first converts, and a great pillar of the Church in days gone by, but now very deaf of ear and dull of understanding. The Minister of Finance, Junia Mafileo, the king's nephew, had not yet arrived, and Tukuaho, as President,

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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Mumui was now very infirm, and not likely to survive many months. The executive power had therefore passed into the hands of his son Tukuaho, who lived at Hihifo, but virtually governed the whole island. The power of the spiritual chiefs had so far declined since Cook's visit that the missionaries describe the Tui Tonga as coming below the Tui Kanokubolu in power and influence. On the 29th May 1797 Mumui died, in spite of the sacrifice of one of his relations at the shrine of the gods. Two of his widows, after the custom of Fiji, now fast becoming the fashion, were strangled at his grave, and the usual scenes of barbarous grief ensued.[1] At the close of the funeral ceremonies Tukuaho was formally elected Tui Kanokubolu, and inducted with the ceremony of kava-drinking. He is thus described by a contemporary: "He is a stout man, and may be about forty years of age, is of a sullen, morose countenance, speaks very little, but when angry bellows forth with a voice like a roaring lion." Possessed at last of the supreme power in name as well as in substance, he gave rein to his instincts —the instincts of a beast of prey. Many stories are told of his cruelties: how for a mere whim, worthy of a Commodus, he ordered the right arms of twelve of his servants to be amputated; how, as a punishment for a woman who had offended him, he had her sawn asunder lengthwise while still alive.[2] But these were not the true causes of Finau's hatred against him, though they served as an excuse for his ambition and insatiable restlessness. Against a more popular ruler he would not have dared to rebel; but the savage and wanton cruelties of

[1] 'Missionary Voyage of the Duff.' [2] Mariner's 'Tonga.'

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
OU9 Tonga OU9

law, in a French-looking uniform with a cocked hat; Sateki, greyer and more care-lined than of old, and the two uniformed aides-de-camp, both famous cricketers in my day, but now inclining to obesity. Towering above all was the king, something over six feet in height and so broad in proportion that he cannot weigh much less than twenty stone. His tight uniform tunic, which enhanced his bulk, was covered with orders, which on closer examination proved to be the various classes of some Tongan decoration instituted by himself, designed by a jeweller in Sydney, and not yet bestowed upon lesser men. He has a broad, intelligent, good-humoured face, with black, languid eyes, and a strong family likeness to his kinsman, poor Tukuaho. His manners are scarcely less genial and engaging, though he has not much taste for the society of Europeans, who cannot help feeling in his company *qu'il ne montre jamais le fond du sac.* Of his intelligence it is enough to say that, though he has never been abroad save for a few weeks spent in Auckland, he speaks English fairly well and reads the English newspapers; that he conducts his own correspondence with a typewriter, and can write Pitman's system of shorthand with facility. Though there are said

16: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1921 OU9 Tonga OU9

a visit to a shrine commenced, the ceremony was a presentation to the god, and the priest, as his representative and vehicle, had the precedence. *Kava* is commonly drunk out of coconut-shell cups, but visitors to the gods were wont, apparently, to use cups of folded banana leaf. These are obviously more ceremonious than the coconut-shells, as they were used in 1918 at the important native ceremony in connection with the installation of the present Queen. I obtained possession of several of the cups used on that occasion, but unfortunately banana leaves are not very durable, and they have long been reduced to pieces of dried leaf, amongst which destructive insects have begun their work.

In passing it may be remarked in connection with *kava* that personal experience in Tonga has shown me nothing to justify the epithet "intoxicating" so often applied to this root. *Kava* drinking prolonged far into the night produces a very dull Tongan next morning, but bad hours would be enough in itself to account for at least a good deal of the drowsiness, and if there be a residuum directly caused by the absorption of large quantities of *kava*, as is quite probable, it does not seem rightly stigmatised as intoxication. Excessive tobacco smoking would produce much the same effect, as indeed would excess of almost any kind. Seeing how widely the *kava* is termed intoxicating by competent observers in other groups, I can only suppose that the suggestion which I have heard put forward, that the Tongans drink the root in a more advanced stage of maturity than the peoples of some other islands may be correct, and that the green root has more pronounced effects.

The priest, then, duly primed with the cheerful cup, and with the tangible evidence before him that the god's hunger will be satisfactorily appeased, proceeds to work himself into a condition suitable for the reception of deity. There are living to-day representatives of an old priestly family, of a highly strung nervous disposition, exhibiting in all probability characteristics that caused their forebears to be reverenced as channels of divine communication. A present-day member of the family has distinguished himself by intrepid and successful missionary pioneering in the Solomon Islands.

The worshippers usually resort to the gods for information concerning risky undertakings, such as war, and for deliverance, or protection, from the disasters that commonly afflict our life, such as sickness or bad seasons, caused by drought or hurricane. There seems to have been no special god of war, but for guidance in this important undertaking each tribe referred to its own god, the indications of the god's pleasure being given in some instances at least by movements of the clubs or other war weapons with which the shrine was provided. If the weapon from which the auguries were sought refused to budge that was an indication of the god's desire for peace.

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

continually made war upon him. In 1812, probably, he was succeeded by his younger brother, Tuboutoa, who reigned only eight years. From 1820 to 1826 there was no king; but each chief ruled in his own district or fort.

King Josiah Tubou of Tonga, whom King George succeeded, was his father's uncle. He became a Christian professor in the year 1826, under the instructions of one of his own men, named Lagi, who, about that time, returned from Tahiti with two Teachers from the London Society's Mission there, appointed to go as Christian pioneers to Fiji. After a somewhat dubious course of religious profession and experience, Tubou became truly awakened to a concern for his soul in the year 1828, and was then exposed to a severe persecution from his heathen friends. In a variety of ways they harassed and perplexed him in his government, until at length affairs assumed a very serious aspect. The king apprehended a rebellion, and was actually prepared to secure his own life, and the lives of the Missionary families, by a flight to some other part of his dominions. It was not, however, until the year 1830, that the king was received into the Church of Christ by baptism. As a governor, he was mild and unassuming in his manner. Indeed, his extreme anxiety, to please all parties, led him to adopt a supine and uncertain policy, which laid him open to the severe criticism of friend and foe. The Missionaries, however, had no just ground for regretting that he never adopted strong and coercive measures toward his heathen relatives and countrymen. He acted upon the principle of toleration, and left the adoption or rejection of the Christian faith, to the free and voluntary choice

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

797 summoned to the presence of the chief whose duty
634 it is to deliver it in the king's name. They are
203 told that it is the king's desire they should immediately return to Vavau, in which case he would restore to them lands, and wives, and friends. It was a tempting bait; but what was the instant answer? "Tell the king," said they, "that if he will permit us to pray, we will go; but if not, we will not go. We prefer a life of poverty where we can pray to God, to wives, or houses, or lands, without God." With much less light and knowledge than the three Hebrew children, who, at all risks, refused to obey the blasphemous mandate of King Nebuchadnezzar, these two humble Christian converts were equally firm in their adherence to the faith of Christ. They were fully prepared even to die if needful; but God did not permit them to be tried to that extremity.

797 With Lube we had no personal acquaintance, but
157 we found in Faone a man of no common stamp of mind. He was an able, and very original and powerful preacher; and for some years he did good service as an evangelist in Fiji, to which country he went, in answer to the call of the church, a few years after his conversion. From thence he was removed again to his own native land, and we trust he still lives to adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour. He was lacking in prudence in regard to some of his proceedings, in the management of the Mission committed to his care, while in Fiji; and, after his return to Vavau, he also incurred the displeasure of King George in reference to some political affairs; but we believe him to have been a thoroughly good man, and to have been possessed of no ordinary gift in prayer. At all events, his name deserves to be

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

recorded in the history of the religious progress of his country, on account of the bold stand which he and his companion Lube made, when, as yet, the thousands of their fellow-countrymen, were bowing down to stocks and stones.

Their decided conduct unquestionably produced a great impression upon the mind of Ulukalala, and still more so upon the people at large, many of whom were secretly anxious to follow the example of Tonga and Haabai. But during two years Ulukalala was madly bent upon sustaining idolatry, and continued to repress, with bitter and cruel persecution, the rising wishes of many of his people. In April, 1831, Vavau was visited on temporal business by Taufa-ahau, (the present King George,) from Haabai. He went in considerable state, with a fleet of twenty-four large canoes, in which were many chiefs and commoners, who, with himself, had recently renounced the idols of heathenism. These spread the leaven of the Gospel still more widely, amongst the people, while Taufa-ahau personally employed all his powers of argument and moral influence, with his friend Ulukalala. Gradually the proud mind of the chieftain yielded; and he went so far as to express a willingness to receive a Missionary, if he were sent direct from England. Leaving his fleet in Vavau, Taufa-ahau, with characteristic promptitude, set sail at once to carry the intelligence to his own resident Missionaries at Lifuka. Upon hearing the glad news, they wrote a friendly answer to Ulukalala, stating that his wish for an English Missionary would shortly be gratified, and exhorting him to dismiss his former prejudices, and believe in the true God. With this letter Taufa-ahau returned

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

from that Sabbath-day, and during nine years afterwards, the writer never failed to preach to the Tonguese the "unsearchable riches of Christ" in their own tongue, with the exception of two or three occasions when laid aside by sickness. Our first extempore attempt was made at Leimatua, at the watch-night service at the close of the same year; and we never had occasion after that time to *read* any of our discourses to the natives. We do not mention these things by way of boasting, but as an encouragement to all young Missionaries, who may be tempted to be disheartened while learning a foreign tongue. Our advice would be to all such, to learn from the natives and not from Europeans, and to begin by speaking with and amongst the children, while careful at the same time to secure the aid of some native of known ability to guide and correct their studies.

Jone Fifita was a man of no ordinary character and ability. As a public speaker, he was possessed of many of the gifts and graces of a polished, but yet natural orator. His religious character likewise was bright and consistent in the highest degree. In person he was considered much below the Tonguese standard of height and physical development. Nevertheless, he had been noted, in heathen times, as a great champion in all pugilistic and gymnastic feats. He was also an oracle in traditional lore, and in his knowledge of the *mekes* and *ulas*, or songs and dances of the country. After his conversion, his natural powers were sacredly devoted to the cause of Christ. He loved the society of the Missionaries, and he profited more than most of his companions under their instructions. He soon acquired large and correct views of Scripture truth;

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

and, considering the slender advantages he enjoyed, from having only become a Christian in his old age, his general knowledge was extensive. He was endowed with a remarkably clear and quick reasoning faculty, an excellent memory, a fine chaste diction, with the most wonderful flow of language; and a mellifluous and powerful delivery. All these qualities were accompanied by a natural impetuosity of manner, and appeal, that made his public ministrations both highly interesting and profitable.

His peculiar gifts of mind, and his extensive acquaintance with native history and customs, qualified him for special usefulness to the Missionaries, both in reducing the language to its present scientific arrangement, and in translating the Bible into the native tongue. During the whole period of our Mission life we had constant intercourse with him; but especially so during a three years' residence in Vavau. All who knew him, will bear us out in saying, that he was one of the choicest of those good and able men, whom God has raised up among the Tonguese themselves, to be the teachers and the messengers of the churches. In his later years, Fifita resided at Hoöfoa, in Tongatabu, where he died, bearing a most happy and triumphant testimony to the "truth as it is in Jesus."

The early religious history of Jone Faubula, who is now regularly employed as a native Minister, affords an example of many similar cases of conversion, in which great sacrifices have been made on the part of the converts, rather than that they should remain in heathenism. He is the son of Tuiniyau, the King of Lakemba, in Fiji. Under the ministrations of Messrs. Cross and Cargill, he

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

159 563 797 793 professed Christianity; and, after a while, was truly converted. His heathen relatives then tried by various means to force from him a recantation of his religion. But, rather than yield before their persecutions, or to their persuasions, he embraced an opportunity that presented, of making his escape to the Friendly Islands, where he knew he would be permitted to worship God in peace. Although often solicited since then to return to Lakemba, where he would at once be assigned no mean station among the ruling chiefs, he has steadily refused; preferring rather to hold the sacred office of a Minister in the Church of Christ, and to labour for the spiritual benefit of the people amongst whom his early religious impressions were fostered and ripened into maturity. Faubula was a great favourite with us, in all our Missionary boating expeditions. He was intrepid, skilful, and hearty. He was also possessed of a fund of natural vivacity and wit, which enabled myself and the boatman, who always accompanied me, to pass pleasantly many an hour upon the sea, under a blazing sun, which otherwise would have been wearisome enough.

159 797 157 563

797 [794] Vavau contained, when we arrived, nearly three thousand church members. There were thirty-two preaching-places, seventeen of which were reached by water. The others varied in distance, from the Mission station, from two to ten miles. Having no horses, at that time, the labours of the Missionaries were extremely exhausting. The inland journeys were commenced before sunrise, and pursued during the cool of the morning; but, whilst thus avoiding one evil, another was encountered, equally great, if not worse. The roads, in most places, were no better than footpaths through the long

[491] [132]

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9
Samoa OU8

the London Missionary Society, on the one hand, and the Wesleyan Missionary Society, on the other, *have, from an early period of the Mission, been kept from attending our schools and services.*"

We should not have even made the above quotation from the publications of a Society whose labours, in the South Sea Islands, have been both extensive and useful, were we not convinced that the statements contained in it would not have been made had the whole truth been known. Surely the plain facts we have stated afford, in themselves, a sufficient answer to the serious charge advanced against the Tonguese. That King George should have listened to the entreaties of the Samoans cannot be cause of surprise, or even subject of regret, to any who truly know the character of the man. Through false representations, and evil surmisings, his visits to Samoa have been attributed to ambitious political motives, and it has even been insinuated that he would have no scruples in extending his power to those islands, or to others, under the guise of religious zeal. We can only say that those who may have made these statements, and those who first originated them, whether natives or foreigners, knew but little of the nobleness of the king's nature, the expansiveness of his Christian charity, or the prudence of his course as a political man. To our minds the voyages of the king, to a land very distant from his own, and for the great object of transferring some of his best people to become the religious instructors of the Samoans, under no influence or constraint, but that of Christian and cordial benevolence toward those whom he considered wrongfully abandoned, presents a unique and striking illustration of the power of Divine grace.

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9
Samoa OU8

Divine grace. But however high we may place the actions of the king, we must place those of the self-denying Tonguese evangelists still higher. With no fee or reward of any kind, save the love and care which they might receive from the people amongst whom they laboured, in the midst of dangers and discouragements, these men prosecuted their spiritual work for years, far away from their own beloved islands, and from all those home associations and comforts, which are as dear to a Tonga man as they are to any European Missionary when he sacrifices similar blessings that he may go "far hence amongst the Gentiles." They were men imbued with the best and truest Missionary spirit.

Before passing away from the subject of the Samoan Mission, we may observe that, as a rule, it would always be best that such a limited group of islands as that of Samoa, should be under the religious teaching of only one branch of the Protestant church. But inasmuch as the London and Wesleyan Societies' Missionaries began to labour there, and almost simultaneously, without any preconcerted design; and seeing also that the success of the latter was so rapid and extensive, that a very large number of chiefs and people would not submit to an alienation from that community, such as was attempted to be forced upon them, it does seem to be a case for the exercise of mutual forbearance and brotherly harmony. Viewing the whole affair in this light, the affiliated Conference of the Wesleyan Body in Australia considered it their duty, as well as their right, to undertake the resumption of the Mission in Samoa, in 1857, by the appointment of an accredited Missionary. This was accordingly done,

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

things they had got in trading with us, which he examin'd and enquir'd what they had given for them but returnd all except one necklace.

This mans arrival sufficiently explain'd the conduct of Feenou and points out his Character, for it seems to have been his aim all along to detain us amongst the islands where his authority was superior to that of every other person, and prevent our going to Amsterdam where he knew his true consequence must appear. His objections to our going there when at Annamooka, his directing us to Hapaee and the diligence he us'd there to procure us a sufficient supply are strong proofs of this; but finding us still bent on going there he not only set out for Va'vaoo to try if the things he could procure there would alter our purpose, but in all probability he had occasiond the report of the Europæan ship being at Annamooka to be spread—perhaps with an intention of at least delaying our passage to Amsterdam by visiting that place, if not with the hopes that we might by lengthening our time meet with such bad weather as would oblige us to leave the islands entirely.

It would be hard to arraign a man before his purposes are fully known, as people are sometimes oblig'd to act faultily in appearance while their intentions are good. If Feenous motives for preventing our going to Amsterdam were entirely interested, that is if he meant to appropriate every thing he could procure from us to himself, no man would hesitate a moment in condemning him. But if he consider'd that it was a matter of indifference to us where we obtaind a supply, and that he endeavour'd to obtain these things as a proof of his diligence which he might produce on his return, considering at the same time that no more could be had from us supposing we had gone there, his conduct was not only excusable but perhaps laudable, and the methods he took to effect his intentions were sufficient proofs that he was no stranger to good policy when he wanted to recommend himself.

WEDNESDAY 28th. The wind ESE and SEBE. Moderate breezes with close cloudy weather and in the afternoon a constant heavy rain.

There has been few Indians off since we anchor'd here, but we had another visit from Poulaho to day who confirm'd what he said yesterday of Feenou, ie that he was a person sent often to decide differences in the smaller isles and made us sensible of his power by saying that he could kill him if he did not act uprightly. He also mention'd a woman call'd Chee'nei,ta'kulla[1] that resides at Va'vaoo and is a

[1] Sinaitakala. Cf. Cook, p. 178 above.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

tumour which affects the legs & arms & increases them to an extraordinary size in their whole length: and the other a tumour of the same sort in the testicles which sometimes exceed the size of the two fists,[1] but in other respects they may be consider'd as uncommonly healthy, not a single person having been seen confin'd to the house by sickness of any kind. On the contrary their strength and activity are every way answerable to their muscular appearance, which they exert both in their usual employments and diversions in such a manner that there can be no doubt but they are as yet little debilitated by numerous diseases, the consequences of indolence and an unnatural method of life. The gracefull air and firm step with which these people walk are not the least obvious proof of their personal perfections. They consider this as a thing so natural or so necessary to be acquird that nothing us'd to excite their laughter sooner than to see us frequently stumbling upon the roots of trees or other things.

Their countenances express very remarkably the abundant mildness & good nature which they posess, and are entirely free from that savage keenness which marks nations in a barbarous state. They would indeed rather perswade one to believe that they had been bred up under the severest restrictions to acquire an aspect so settled, and such a command of their passions as well as steadiness in conduct, but they are at the same time frank, chearfull and good humour'd, though sometimes in the presence of their chiefs they put on a degree of gravity and such a serious air that becomes stiff or aukward & has an appearance of reserve. Their peacable disposition is sufficiently evinc'd from the friendly reception all strangers have met with who have visited them. Instead of offering to attack them openly or clandestinely, as has been the case with most of the inhabitants of these seas,[2] they have never appear'd in the smallest degree hostile but on the contrary like the most civiliz'd nations have courted an intercourse with them by bartering, the only medium which unites all nations in a sort of friendship. In short they seem posess'd of many of the most excellent qualitys that adorn the human mind as Industry, Ingenuity, Perseverance, affability and perhaps

[1] These two other 'diseases' are one: they are both aspects of the elephantiasis which results from the mosquito-carried filariasis, which is the real disease. The Tongans used surgery to treat the scrotal swelling—Mariner, II, pp. ci–cii; they did nothing about the legs or arms, according to him, but Samwell speaks of 'the Scars of large Gashes . . . seemingly with the Intention of letting out the Contents of the Tumor'.—p. 1045 below.

[2] Mariner's account (II, pp. 71–2) of the contemplated attack on the ships appears to give the lie to this; but he has the later statement, II, p. 138, 'In respect to the intended assassination of Captain Cook, every native of Tonga would have considered it, if it had taken place, a very base act, for which probably the gods would have punished them.'

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

other virtues which our short stay with them might prevent us discovering, whereas the only crime we know they have a propensity to is theft to which all sexes and ages are addicted in an uncommon degree. It should however be consider'd that this blemish to their reputation is merely with respect to us, for amongst themselves stealing is a crime not at all more common if so frequent as in other countrys, though it is doubtless sometimes practic'd. In other places the motives to such a transgression are commonly Avarice, Indolence or absolute want, but here it seems to arise solely from an intense curiosity or desire to posess something which they see belongs to a sort of people so different from themselves, that if it were possible a set of beings seemingly as superior in our judgment should appear amongst us, I doubt much whether our natural regard to justice would be able to restrain many from falling into the same error. That this is their true motive for such a practice appears from their stealing every thing indiscriminately at first before they are sensible it can be of the smallest utility, but I believe with us no person would risque his reputation or being punishd as the law requires without knowing this before hand, though at the same time I will not venture to say how far the curiosity that gives the first impulse with them may be exchang'd for another motive after a certain time. The circumstances, though certainly both disagreeable and troublesome to strangers, affords some information as to the quickness of their intellects in devising a method and their address in concealing what they steal, for their small thefts are commited with great dexterity and those of greater consequence with a plan or scheme suited to their importance. As an extraordinary instance of the last sort might be mention'd an attempt which they made to carry away one of the Discoverys anchors at mid-day when every body was at work about the decks. They had plac'd a Canoe under the Bow where it lay & had so far accomplish'd their purpose that it was actually unlash'd & lower'd down untill part of the fluke hookd about the chains & prevented its going farther.

The hair is in general straight, thick and strong though a few have it bushy or frizzled. The natural colour I believe almost without exception is black, but the greatest part of the men & some women have it staind of a brown or purple colour and a few of an orange cast. The first is done by applying a sort of plaster of burnt coral mixd with water and the second with the raspings of a reddish wood call'd [1] which is made up with water into a poultice and laid

[1] ? Koka, *Bischofia javanica*: the bark would be used.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 0U9 Tonga 0U9

a break in the reef which they enter by here, and is the only place where landing is practicable. Unmoord ship in the morning. A little to the left of the landing place there is a kind of creek that runs up a little way into a large cleft chink or gully, the sides of which are formd by rugged rocks at least forty feet high, which I found upon examination to be the same as that calcareous substance[a] found on the highest part of Annamooka; from whence it is probable the Basis of this Island is of that substance and perhaps the craggs to the eastward, as this, is a division directly in a solid part of it. There was two places with excellent water near the upper part which with a little trouble might be conveyd down so as to water a ship, but it seems doubtfull if there is such a quantity to be always found in these places. It was so cool in this place, which is always shelter'd from the sun, that we found several of the sorts of fern growing in New Zeeland & some others here. We also found on returning by the high grounds that the rains for two days passd had washd down a kind of iron sand, like that us'd to dry up ink, upon the paths which was every where sparkling but so mixd with the common mould that no quantity could be collected.

Our people traded as yesterday and the chief Ta'oofa made the Captain a present of two pretty large piles of yams, which seemd to be collected by a kind of contribution as at the other isles. He also entertaind us with boxing and wrestling and as an Introduction several pairs of women box'd with the true spirit of female acrimony, one of the first sending off her antagonist with a bloody nose, but these matches seldom lasted long before some of their own sex rose and interposd. Whether the old observation is true that in enmity a woman is a more implacable adversary than a man, and that our present example will help to decide it I will not determine, but I am rather inclind to think their passion for speedy and universal conquest was the reason of our heroines engaging with such irresistible fury, as the shame of being conquer'd seemd to affect them more than the severity of the blows. At the same time we could not observe without pleasure another instance of the many we had seen before amongst the men of the great temper and even generosity they exhibit in sports which are properly their province, and ought never to engage female delicacy, for two of these after boxing a considerable time with great spirit and dexterity, and finding neither was likely to overcome, desisted suddenly and embracing kiss'd each other with

[a] If this is to be considerd as coral it is very different from that coarse calcareous basis from which all growing corals that spring from it seem to derive their support or rather covering, and is therefore to be reckond a distinct species or has perhaps no affinity to it.

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

a cordiality which left no room to doubt but they were convinc'd of their mutual merit & that malice had no share in urging them to the combat. Many people likewise fought with clubs of the hard heavy Cocoa nut stem, a diversion I think the most exceptionable they have, both because it is in some degree cruel and requires no dexterity so that the advantage must generally be on the side of strength. These Champions collected in a body on each side of the circle and when any of them wanted to engage would come and sit down in the middle of the open space, when some from the opposite side would advance or if not he retreated to his party. When the challenge was accepted the pair began without any ceremony and beat from above upon each others heads and shoulders without mercy either till they left off by mutual consent or broke their clubs to pieces which frequently happened. It can scarcely be doubted but accidents sometimes happen at this rough diversion, in which they all show'd a kind of reluctance to engage, yet we saw no method they us'd to defend themselves from the blows farther than holding down the face, except in one man who had a very large thick semicircular breast plate made of one piece of bone hung round his neck which they said was of the manufacture of Feejee. They intended to have finishd with the Bo'mai or night dance but an accident put a stop to our entertainment. The Captains servant walking a very little way was surrounded by twenty or thirty of the natives who knockd him down and strip'd him of every thing but his shoes. The Captain immediately seiz'd two Canoes, & not long after they brought the trowsers and a shirt that had been stole from another person. They then brought a young lad who they said was the thief, and in a short time a hog to redeem him, but night coming on he was carried on board. I cannot help observing on this occasion that in this as in all other countrys, there are some individuals who being total strangers to every sentiment of justice and humanity are continually watching oppurtunitys to commit acts of violence & rapine which renders them pests to society. In these countrys however there is a kind of intelligence kept up, perhaps superior to the best regulated police of civiliz'd nations, by which such offenders are so easily detected that with respect to themselves there are probably fewer instances of this kind than in most other places. But with respect to strangers they certainly think they can take such advantages with less risque of being discoverd, either from their hopes of our laying aside a search which in all probability they know must give us a great deal of trouble, or from their being sensible of the impossibility of effecting such a discovery without the concurrence of their chief, whom they may

58: King G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

175 account; other disorders which affect their appearance, but not common,
164 are large broad ulcers which appear in every part of the body, & when
[765] heal'd leaves behind ugly scars like bits of skin ty'd together. We also saw several people with their Arms & legs swelld the whole length to a prodigious size. Notwithstanding these disorders, they may be considerd as uncommonly healthy, for I never heard of any one being seen confin'd sick in his house, & all their actions shew that they are not debilitated by
175 diseases, the Consequence of Indolence or unnatural way of living; the
304 men are punctulated or as they call it Tatowd, from the loins to half down
171 the thighs, often Elegantly, but no spiral lines as at New Zeeland. The
142 women have only a few lines or spots about the hands or fingers. The
175 General figure of the women is too masculine to pretend to beauty: they
562 are of a middle height, stout, well limbd, broad faced, with rather harsh features, their hands are small with delicate fingers; their Eyes are expressive & countenances the best natur'd in the World, which need not be sourd from the behaviour of the men, who treat them with regard & tenderness, admit them to their meals & their Kava societies; although
175 custom seems mostly to seperate them on these Occasions. The behaviour
562 of men towards Women is doubtless the best criterion to judge how near
152 Barbarous people approach in manners to civiliz'd Nations: the mildness
571 & good temper so remarkable amongst these People, with that settled
565 respect to their superiors, that perfect command of their Passions, their
157 Peaceable dispositions, & many other Qualities that do honour to the human mind, prove abundantly that these people are far remov'd from a
175 savage state. We may be somewhat surpris'd how they came posses'd of
181 such Qualities, which require, with all our advantages, no small trouble
685 for us to obtain; Particularly as these People have few Vices that we coud perceive, to counterbalance their Virtues. They are certainly much given to thieving & one wou'd wish to render this less a crime in them than it would be in us; for that reason I shoud migitate [*sic*] its commonality by observing that it is not the same vice with them as it is with us, that it arises from an intense curiosity, urging them on to possess articles so extraordinary & belonging to a new People; else why do they steal indiscriminately whatever comes in their way, very frequently things that
[565] cannot be of the smallest use to them. The Principal Chiefs were however in a great measure free from this crime.

175 *Canoe's.* There are two sorts of Canoes. The small ones with Outriggers are
501 from 20 to 30 feet long, 2 broad & 1½ deep, it is sharp like a wedge at both ends, & widens from the after end to about ⅓ of its length when it begins gradually to grow narrower to the foremost end; towards both ends it is deckd over, the middle space is left open for the Padlers. The Canoe consists of more than 20 pieces, which cannot be from Necessity as the pieces are the same in all, but from design; & these are so neatly join'd together as to gain the Admiration of our Carpenters; the seams on the outside are scarcely Visible, but on the inside is a ridge made from the

[466 cont.]

175 natives; but they all agreed in telling us, that he was their (19)
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19. The same word in the Taheitee dialect is pronounced Aree.

Areeghee or king. They added that his name was Latoo-Nipooroo, of
175
197 which we concluded [467] that the former part (Latoo) was a title,
171 it being same which Schouten and Le Maire, the Dutch navigators in
[565] the year 1616, found at the Cocos, Traytors, and Horne islands,
which are situated in this neighbourhood, only a few degrees to the
northward (20). We were confirmed in this opinion by the great

20. See Dalrymple's Historical Collection of Voyages and Discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean, 2 vols. quarto, 1771. London. Vol. II. p. 27, 28, &c.

correspondence of the vocabularies, which these intelligent seamen
have left us, with the language which was spoken at Tonga-Tabboo,
and still more so by the entire similarity in the behaviour and
175 customs of these islanders. The captains walked up to the Latoo,
565 and made him a number of presents, which he received with so much
431 gravity and seeming indifference, as bordered upon stupidity. Amongst
609 other things they put a shirt on him, with a great deal of trouble,
[157] because his behaviour was most aukwardly passive. He did not return
any thanks for the presents which he received, till an old woman
sitting behind him, had repeatedly excited him to express his
[201] gratitude. Upon this he held each separate article over his head,
and pronounced the word fagafetai, like the meanest of his subjects.
175 The priest, who had led our captains to the places of worship, on the
565 first day after our arrival, was seated in the same circle, and drank
276 vast quantities of the intoxicating pepper-water(21), which was
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75: Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1940 OU9 Tonga OU9
Vava'u
Pangai

lighted. She walked down the narrow road and saw at the end a burning house inside of which many of her relatives were being burned alive. She asked them if she should open the door to allow them to escape. They called out to her to run away, that she was not wanted. She ran down the road and awoke feeling very frightened. 159

Ana was then serving as our housegirl. Being a Roman Catholic, she was being educated at a convent, but was home on holiday. She was being courted on the sly by Avai, a second cousin, a member of the Free Church of Tonga. Her mother disapproved of Avai and in any case wished her to marry a Roman Catholic man only after she had attended school for some years further. Ana was using the privilege of being our housegirl, and thus directly out of her mother's guardianship for most of the day, to arrange occasional meetings with Avai in or about our cookhouse. It was obvious that she found the stolen meetings sweet even though well aware that Avai should carry on his courting, according to Tongan practice, only when a chaperon was present and, preferably, in her mother's house. This conflict is presumably adequate motivation for Ana's dream, the two roads symbolizing her temptation, burning in fire the reward of sinners, and rejection by her relatives symbolizing the manner in which she might have to quarrel with them should she allow the courtship to continue. 159 154 571 582

I have record of twelve further dreams given to us by informants within the course of a single week, in each of which religious symbolism is plain and usually refers to anxieties over church teaching—the end of the world, punishment of sinners, worries over interdoctrinal differences. These anxieties often appear to be increased by the fact that the relatives of the dreamer belong to other sects than the dreamer's, and so, to one who takes his religion seriously, intellectual disagreement is heightened by the necessity of believing that one's relatives are indubitably headed straight for an eternal hell fire. Two dreams may be given to illustrate the patterning of this form of emotional conflict over sectarianism. 154 771 602

Case 9.—Dreams of Sigaleti, married man about 58 years old. The dreamer and many of his friends were sitting in a large Tongan house that had two open doorways. Suddenly, a large sheet of fire came rapidly toward the house. A man stood up ordering Sigaleti to leave by one door, his friends by the other. Outside the house Sigaleti saw the flames devouring all his friends. 159

The second dream: The dreamer saw an angel flying in the sky. In one hand it carried a book, in the other a sword. The angel alighted on the ground. Suddenly, Sigaleti saw a man named Povai (a relative, Roman Catholic) reading from the book, and he heard the words: "There are three men. Two shall live and one shall die." Sigaleti asked for the book, but the angel flew away.

The religious phrasing of both these dreams is clear. Sigaleti is a somewhat morose and dour-looking Tongan. He rarely smiles, wearing instead a look of patient and absorptive brooding that is uncommon in the Tongan. He took every opportunity to ply us with questions about religious matters, disputes over Christian doctrine and the like. Immediately before he had these dreams, Sigaleti had left the Free Wesleyan Church and had joined the Free Church. The first dream appears to provide obvious justification for the change (a change, incidentally, that provoked much discussion, criticism, and gossip in the village); the second dream suggests that Sigaleti is worrying about the validity of Roman Catholicism. That these interpretations are not purely subjective on my part is supported by the fact that when I outlined them for Sigaleti he confessed quite voluntarily that he wished he could take his mind off religious matters but that he thought of them day and night. 157 159 771

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

which included the building of five memorial churches and a new College Hall. Of £14,759, the total amount raised in 1875, £6,124 was for the Jubilee Fund and £3,490 for the Home Mission Fund.[18] The Jubilee Fund was expected also to build a new "Ladies' College" which, the king asked, should be called "Queen Charlotte's College" (in honour of his wife); he headed the list for this purpose with £1.000.[19] Baker said:

> "The Ladies' College will be the finest and largest building in Tonga or, in fact, in the South Seas, when it is finished." (He hoped this would be in December 1878; actually, it was never finished.) [20]

The accusation that the Tongans were filling the coffers of the Australian Church was palpably false. Nevertheless, the great increase in sums sent overseas cannot be excused nor, still less, the unworthy methods used by Baker to induce the people to give beyond their means.

King George had determined to raise contributions after he had travelled to Sydney in 1853. The Wesleyan Conference in 1855 (the first after separation from Britain that year), resolved —

> "Conference records its great satisfaction at the successful efforts made by the people in Tonga, through King George . . . to meet the entire expenditure of the Mission by large and regular supplies of oil and trusts that this noble example, the first, we believe, on record in missionary times, will be speedily followed by other Missions placed in similar circumstances." [21]

The financial statements for 1855 showed estimated revenue from Tonga £1,100, estimated expenditure £1,386, expenses for the brig *John Wesley* used for Tonga and Fiji £1,000.[22] In 1866 estimated receipts from Tonga were £1,350, estimated expenditure £2,711.[23]

As sums sent overseas increased some missionaries expressed concern. John Vercoe, in Ha'apai, may have exaggerated, but he wrote:

> "That this little group" (= Ha'apai), "with some 4,000 people, should send away £1,000 per annum, whilst her chapels are mere sheds, and her native ministers and local preachers are in rags, is, I confess, a matter of which in the future we shall be ashamed." [24]

When Baker became Chairman in 1869, he began a policy of stimulating more giving that brought him praise from the Missionary Committee, but criticisms from some of his colleagues; the amount raised in 1869 rose to £5,480, and this was very much exceeded in the next decade.

In 1871 the Earl of Pembroke and Dr. G. H. Kingsley visited the South Seas and made caustic criticisms of Wesleyan missionaries in general; their knowledge of Tonga came only from reading missionary reports as they did not include it in their itinerary. Their remarks reflected the contemporary scorn of Nonconformists shown by some lordly Englishmen, but there was justification for their strictures concerning the undesirable means Baker was using. Wesleyan missionary circles in Australia and Britain felt embarrassed by the publicity. The missionaries in Tonga, so said "The Earl and the Doctor", were "canting sharks"; the writers added,

> "To those who know the generous excitable nature of the South Sea Islanders, this must be looked upon as sheer pillage." [25]

The people's susceptibility to rivalry gave Baker ample opportunity for exploitation. Nothing was dearer to Tongan hearts than praise, nothing more precious than prestige. Few families were willing to be outdone by the gifts of others. Villages were easily pitted against each other. The challenges were made in

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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[1876-1890]

preparatory meetings with boasting of what would be given at the annual missionary meetings. The gifts were always announced publicly. Baker added a method of piecemeal continued giving, an elimination process for the honour and glory of the last survivors. Basil Thomson's descriptions of missionary collections in his day (1890), both Free Church and Wesleyan, were truthful, despite humourous exaggerations.[26] It was an open competition in a circus-like atmosphere, entirely out of keeping with a religious setting.

In spite of the adverse publicity from "The Earl and the Doctor", the Missionary Committee reacted in a manner favourable to Baker and confirmed him in the chairmanship when he feared that it might have been given to his rival, Moulton. Baker had visited Sydney at that time (1873), and the Missionary Committee resolved that,

> "Having heard the statements of the Rev. S. W. Baker relative to the unexampled financial and spiritual prosperity of the Mission in the Friendly Islands District, [it] records its thankfulness to God for His abundant blessing upon the missionaries and their work."[27]

Fortified with this eulogy, Baker repressed any desire to return to a ministry in Australia in 1873 and set out to raise ever larger sums. He developed a special technique for giving credit in advance. This became notorious, with the German firm of Godeffroy having a monopoly of the copra from the collections. Sometimes a representative of the firm stood at the church door to make these advance payments against the copra to be sold later. Many of the debts would have been unmanageable in any case, and when a hurricane or a drought occurred many people failed to meet their obligations to Godeffroy. Distress warrants were taken out in many cases. Moulton was most critical of these practices. So was George Minns, who bemoaned also the contrast between spiritual deadness and booming collections. To Chapman on 26 January 1874, Minns wrote:

> "Our success is represented by £ s d. The disparity between our finances and our spirituality is so great that I cannot find sufficient courage to address a letter to the 'Missionary Notices'. . . . The Missionary affair [= collections] is in a large measure the effect of excitement and will collapse . . . Let us wait a few years longer for there are great difficulties ahead."[28]

Sir Charles Mitchell, High Commissioner, in his report to the British Parliament in 1887, criticized the Mission and stressed the king's resentment at the large sums going out of the country. Actually, some of the money was being banked in Sydney for the Tonga Jubilee Fund. Also, it was Baker himself who was responsible for this financial policy.

Mr. E. L. Layard, appointed as British Consul for Fiji and Tonga, visited Nuku'alofa in February 1876, and he at once received an avalanche of complaints from European residents, many of them disreputable beachcombers, and some of them rivals of the German firm. Baker declared that some of those who signed a petition to Layard had been cured of venereal disease by him.[29] On the basis of these complaints, Layard made many charges to Sir Arthur Gordon, alleging that Baker was "a trader in disguise", "the virtual ruler of Tonga", using his power

> "not for the good of the natives but actually for his own aggrandizement and enrichment, and to the detriment and possible banishment of every white man except his own special party from the Islands".[30]

Layard alleged that Baker was being well paid for his medical work. He added an absurd story about the people in the southernmost remote island of 'Ata

/30 cont./

181 177 nature (money, tools, clothing, food), besides the limited transmission of knowledge by Tongans in the village schools (partly by white persons in the colleges) and the not fully efficient health [538] service. The only literature published in the Tongan language is [207] purely ecclesiastical, and there is no Tongan radio service. The modern European world which, with its characteristics, its wants and objectives, is somewhat complicated, open and not amenable to simple answers even for Europeans, must always remain to a certain extent alien and unintelligible to the Tongan, not only because his disposition is, in part, of an entirely different nature, but also because he is offered only disconnected, isolated parts [of the whole [829] picture]. The latter probably give most Tongans the idea that "European" means first and foremost: /31/ being clean, well-to-do, [183] knowing a lot and being able to do a lot. This is the ideal the islanders more or less consciously strive for; however, they do not do so uncritically, for by their conduct and by their words, for example, they emphasize, at least on the small islands, that they are proud of not being as attached to money as are the white people.

157 156 177 Besides the mass of Tongans to whom the character traits described in the preceding section apply, there is also a minority of extreme, highly Europeanized types, a few of whom may probably be best explained by the following examples:

1. Tongan T., 41 years old, the son of a chief on Tongatapu. College education there; visit to Fiji; military training in New Zealand. Regarded as matapule. (62)

[565] 62. The matapule are members of a once highly privileged noble class; in the narrower sense, attendants to a titled chief in special ceremonial services.

Was occupied at the Tonga court, among other things as chauffeur. Took a "vacation" and has been living on Nomuka for several months.

/31 cont./

157 156 177 Clothing for everyday wear khaki trousers, European shirt and white tennis shoes, along with sun glasses and a sun helmet. On Sundays wears gray trousers, shirt, colorful "Waikiki jacket," socks and black low shoes. Eats the customary Tongan-European diet; sleeps on a mat. T. tries to appear a "man of the world," to tower above his friends as a leader. Has not married. Goes with many girls. Has a [454] small savings account in Nuku'alofa. Says he wants to save more money in order to build a house in Nuku'alofa in the European style, to [829] furnish it and then to marry. He is contemptuous of typical Tonga work such as women's mat plaiting and tapa making, regarding these as useless occupations. T. is intelligent and gifted with a natural sense of humor. He has no firm outlook, is casual, lazy, has not worked for months, seems to have no home and takes turns living off relatives or friends to save money. Though, in view of his idleness, he leads a life similar to that of the chiefs and matapule of ancient Tonga times, his presence in the village, despite the universal Tonga kindness and hospitality, is felt to be unpleasant after a few months. T. appears to the observer as a "rootless type" who has lost raport with truly Tongan life.

2. Tongan M., 42 years old, son of a respected family on Tongatapu. College education there. Student of more than average achievement. Trained as medicine dispenser (apothecary). Much contact with white physicians. In the course of the years he has managed stations on 'Eua, Lifuka and Niua Fo'ou and has treated diseases on his own. In the last war a great deal of contact with English and Americans. Has read several English books and many English magazines. Has worked as "dispenser " /cited in English/ on Nomuka for three years, and cultivates his planting, usually with slight expenditure of work. After the death of his first wife, married his former housekeeper and now has eleven children. For everyday, wears the Tonga

/31 cont./

156 vala and shirt (both mostly of blue cotton twill), for Sunday, a
157 vala (often of flowered cotton), a white shirt, and for church a
177 ta'vala, tie and European jacket. Always goes barefoot. Eats customary /32/ Tongan-European food; sleeps on a mat with a headrest. Is regarded as matapule. Is treated by the small congregation of his (minority) church as a chief. M. is a lay preacher, attends all church services, has his regular prayers at home and works himself up into powerful religious feelings. Keeps himself rather isolated from the inhabitants and is not actually regarded by them as a member of the village community. M. makes an effort, contrary to Tongan custom, to pay for all services rendered him (with money or goods), since he wishes to have "no obligations" (which means rejection of the old village assurance of reciprocity), usually also does not help with community work in the village. Is egotistical and does not fullfil his obligations to hold certain festivals. With all the self-assurance he displays he is actually insecure and often afraid of "doing something wrong." He no longer knows many of the names of objects still in use in Tongan material culture and also has no clear conception of some of the methods of making them. M.'s inclination to laziness is intensified by his heavy set figure. By nature he is good-humored and happy, but under the influence of his life so far he has become calculating and crafty. Knowing something in many areas of European life, with many-sided interests, M. believes he understands the world of whites, but also realizes his unfortunate position by summing it up in the statement: "Our development here in Tonga is as though a man wants to climb a coconut palm, gets halfway up and can then go neither up nor down." M. wants to quit his job in two years in order to raise livestock on 'Eua and keep a small store. However, it is doubtful whether he will succeed in this since he has absolutely no specialized knowledge for the first project and, like most Tongans, he lacks

/32 cont./

156 knowledge for the first project and, like most Tongans, he lacks com-
157 pletely the ability to keep his money together. To the observer he
177 seems ultimately an unfortunate, mixed type.

3. Tongan S., 24 years old, born a commoner; after attending college in Tonga spent several years in New Zealand; there continued education along with practical work. Contact with partly nihilistic white intellectuals. Returns as a sharp critic. Marries the daughter of a Tongan businessman (merchant and owner of a department store) in Nuku'alofa. Moves to Nomuka and establishes a shop. S. usually dresses in long white pants and a short-sleeved white shirt, eats European food almost exclusively (this partly because of the fact that he has no planting on Nomuka and can live comfortably on the income from his shop). He is reserved and courteous, seems at once unfinished and strongly influenced by undigested foreign ideas. S. has become a convinced atheist. Is also almost passionately critical of the Tongan government which in his opinion favors the nobility and discriminates against and impedes the commoners. Works circumspectly and has his head full of great plans for the future (for example, wants to go into canned fish production, wrote to USA). Is generous and, outside his business activity in which he calculates sharply, seems to adhere to the old Tongan custom of "giving without direct return service." After having at first a rather isolated position in the village, he succeeded, after some months, in winning over a few new Tongans with his tennis playing. The village community has not yet acknowledged him as its own (for example, no invitation to larger festivals), but a growing number of villagers buy /33/ from him, especially since he is often able to offer goods unavailable in the other stores of the village. S. appears to the observer to be an as yet unformed type of modern Tongan entrepreneur.

/33 cont./

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4. Tongan M., 27 years old, born a commoner on Nomuka. Schooling on Nomuka and in college on Tongatapu; quite a good student. Taken into government service in Nuku'alofa. Weekdays wears white vala (sometimes also white shorts) and white shirt, often also sandals, and Sundays a tie, ta'o-vala and European jacket for church-going. Eats the customary Tongan-European food (but inclines more to pure Tongan); sleeps on a mat. (This simple way of life is partly due to his small monthly income.) Works in Tongan treasury and during a few free hours cultivates his planting outside Nuku'alofa. His tedious work with figures satisfies him, especially since his position in public and in the community places him on a higher, respected rung. He is very anxious to learn more and more and to work still better, and in this he struggles with his somewhat phlegmatic nature which, however, he overcomes, so that he appears industrious. M. is conscientiously religious. He has great respect for the cleanliness, the education and the competence of Europeans. Is serious and has natural dignity in all utterances and acts. Along with other Tongan so-called "intellectuals" (physicians) M. also criticizes the present political conditions of his country, wants to see Tonga still freer and more independent (for example, loosening economic ties with Great Britain). He is not married, and his very serious manner makes it difficult for him to approach the female sex. However, during the last few months he has begun to pay attention to a certain girl, but is frustrated by his fear of not being able to provide for a family with his small income in Nuku'alofa. M. spends his vacation regularly on Nomuka, since he constantly longs for his native island and his family. There he works during his vacation in the store of his step-brother or on the plantations. He has not lost his pleasure in the old Tongan way of working and living; is well liked on Nomuka and is fully appreciated and respected by the community. In his native village, M.

/33 cont./

156 organized a small group of Tongans who raise pigs and sell them, and
157 with the proceeds make it possible for young Nomukans to attend
177 college on Tongatapu; he himself makes certain financial sacrifices to help the Tongans studying in New Zealand. To our way of thinking he may be regarded as an idealist. To the observer, M. seems a representative of the good young Tongan intelligentsia. If Tonga became more European this type, though encumbered, could have an ageeable influence on the development of the small kingdom.

It is difficult to say whether such extreme types will some day become general types, whether such a fundamental change of Tongan nature will slowly be brought about. It also depends largely on further general development of Tonga; for example, to what extent the government's plans for an intensive Europeanization are realized (for example, light industry [such as fish canning factories] for the overpopulated Ha'apai group).

181 /34/ From the foregoing it will be seen that the character of the
177 Tongan today is quite similar to that of his forefathers (except for
178 the extreme types), even though it has undergone certain limited changes in the course of European influence. This native has remained essentially unchanged because European influence on the islands has not been strong enough to be able to undermine the Tongan's nature, his basic disposition so firmly rooted in him, the chief characteristic of which is a self-assured equanimity which can scarcely be shaken.

177 And this characteristic will probably also limit the future development in Tonga, and be a safeguard against a precipitous, intensive Europeanazation. For, until now, almost every European style action of an offical nature undertaken in Tonga has been slowed down, impeded or revoked.

/241 cont./

472 grandfather, also started a trucking service on Lifuka with a truck that he bought secondhand for 300£T. He makes trips day after day, (434) at any time, and earns more than 100£T a month. During the free time left to him he works on his new European frame house (with corrugated metal roof). Its furnishings consist of a table, a small bench, a chair, a plank bed, a few mats and a number of oil cans, as well as parts for his car. He also owns a large radio that he had sent from Australia for 55£T. St., who impresses one as being restless, nervous (157) and driven, and who is apparently overworked, says that he is trying to earn lots of money in order to give his children a good education (perhaps in Australia or New Zealand).

472 The Tongan V.F. (in Pangai, Lifuka) works his plantation, but
275 has in addition discovered a unique possibility of making money: he buys lemon extract and sugar at the shopkeeper's, his wife makes drinks from these and he sells them soda fountain style to his countrymen. To do this he sets himself up in the shed of the Copra Board in Pangai where there is a great deal of traffic and where the air is hot (435) and dry. He charges sixpence for a glass of lemonade. On "good" days, (434) that is, when it is particularly hot, he earns 5 to 8£T. V.F. well remembers his "best" day, December 31, 1951, on which he took in 13£T. With the money he defrays all special expenses of his family. Yet he (454) lives in a simple house of ancient Tongan style and is saving a great deal of money because he wants to assure his sons of a "good future" (education).

472 To this category of people engaged in trade (that is, people carrying on independent activities purely for economic gain) belong especially the storekeepers (who procure goods in the chief towns and sell them on the islands); likewise to be classed in this category are individual Tongans and cooperatives that own sailboats and make

/278 cont./
000 English/.

871 The children and with them the parents are relatively open-minded
177 about this European educational system. Today--in contrast to conditions a few decades ago--school attendance is apparently quite regular.

872 In 1952, for example, about 160 boys and girls went to the government elementary school of the village of 'Uiha ('Uiha"), a typical settlement of the small islands, and all but four of them attended classes rather regularly. The teacher had the parents of children who played truant force them to attend school. The four pupils mentioned, however, were generally regarded as "hopeless cases" since, immediately after they were brought to school by their parents, they ran away again and could not bring themselves to spend the morning sitting in school. About half the children really like to attend because of their interest in the teaching and their pleasure in the group games; the rest of the boys and girls attended school because it was compulsory.

873 The number of those who have attended college is relatively large considering the slight opportunity they have to apply this education of several years' duration. Investigations conducted by the author
[162] in 1952 in the village of 'Uiha/'Uiha showed that of the 358 adults living there, 57 (chiefly men) had attended college, while in Fungamisi/Vava'u there were 23 (chiefly men) who attended among the 135 adults of the settlement.

153 The Tongan boys and girls seem generally intelligent and receptive
157 in the classroom. A leading white educator who was questioned empha-
871 sized that there was "apparently nothing wrong with their intelligence," /cited in English/ but that their temperament and their entire ambience was different, as though their motto were: "Don't worry, go to sleep!" Despite a great deal of honest effort Tongan boys and girls are

/278 cont./

153 generally somewhat slower than European children; yet, other things
157 being equal, they usually outdo the natives of other Pacific islands
871 in their achievements, and in the Tongan colleges, especially in practical subjects, they certainly achieve the standard of whites in the equivalent schools of New Zealand, even though they have the disadvantage of an environment that does not give them much cultural stimulation.

876 Although in schools run by churches the purpose of the early
179 missionaries is still alive, namely, by imparting European knowledge,
871 /279/ to provide the prerequisites for successful Christianization, nevertheless today the trend in the modern, improved educational system of the government and the churches is to give the Tongans more education and with it greater understanding, so that the natives will "do
[645] everything better" and achieve a higher standard of living. This is also expressed in the plans of the Prime Minister and Minister of Education Tungi who, in the near future, would like to make accessible to his people European specialized knowledge (in agriculture, fishing and handicraft) by appointing white and yellow teachers of special subjects and by means of literature and radio.

871 The practical effects of the present educational system on the
876 life of the Tongan masses seem, however, to be slight. Although their educational institutions are not too academic and try to accomodate themselves to Tongan limitations, the most suitable solution of the educational problem has apparently still not been found. White critics point out that there is still too much emphasis on teaching subjects that are, after all, useless to the natives. The schools would have to pay far more attention to agriculture if this farming population is actually to change and raise its standard of living.
[179] The educational system as it now exists simply means, for the majority of Tongans, and "additional acquisition of European knowledge" and is

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
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562 One of the most re-
markable things in connexion with the Tonga Islands is the
562 respect and consideration in which the women are held. They
565 have female chiefs; and if a woman of the higher class marry any
one beneath her, she still retains her superior rank.

133 The coral reef at Nu-ku-alófa forms a belt along the shore, varying from 50 to 150 yards in width, deepening suddenly so that a large vessel at low water might lie close alongside it like a wharf. Over this coral flat we had always to walk upon landing, the depth of water upon the crumbling coral varying from ankle to knee-deep, with occasional holes in which one might suddenly find himself up to the neck. After our first visit we always went prepared for any depth.

643 At 4 o'clock King George, accompanied by the missionaries,
609 Messrs. Lawry, Amos, and Daniells, came off to the ship. His
Majesty now wore a clean white shirt, with the usual tappa petti-
[292] coat fastened round the waist and hanging down to the feet. He was received at the gangway by Captain Keppel and officers with a guard of honour, and was then taken below to the captain's cabin. Here he looked with great attention at the pictures hanging round, particularly at some hunting scenes; and being shown a coloured panoramic sketch which I had made at Cape York, with canoes and Torres Straits natives in the foreground, he looked at it very attentively, inquiring where they belonged to, and asking several other questions about them. In the dining cabin he examined with great interest the engraving of the Queen after Winterhalter.
[264] At dinner his manner was composed and dignified: he took soup,
[157] and used a knife and fork with perfect ease, taking wine with Captain Keppel and the rest at table, preferring champagne to any
[262] other, but drinking very moderately. When asked if he would take some wild-duck (which had been shot at the lagoon in the island), he replied, "No, that is Tonga, I can always get that," and, looking towards a leg of mutton, added, "I will take some sheep." He inquired the rank of the different officers who were at table, and observing a midshipman amongst them, he asked
[262] "Why that boy was there?" As he was helping himself when the cheese came round, one of the missionaries interrupted him rather hurriedly, telling him that he thought he would not like it; to which he replied quietly, "If I do not, I can wash it down with water."
[157] The most perfect composure of manner marked all his actions, and formed one of the most striking features in his character. At dessert, several glasses, containing different kinds of wine, were placed before him, in order that he might choose which he liked best. Captain Keppel observed at the same time that there were other light French wines if he preferred them, at which he shook his head, and said, with an animated expression in broken English, "I do not like French." Upon his health being drunk, and the

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
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king said he did not like to write before so many white men, who were all so much wiser, and who knew how to write so much better than himself, but that he would write it for me when alone. After the Assembly broke up we went to the palace, where we had called the day before, and found the queen prepared to receive us. Her Majesty was seated on mats in the centre, or chief place of the apartment; the king sitting on her right, and three principal chiefs on her left hand, the rest of the chiefs all sitting round in a great semicircle on the lawn before the palace, as they had done at the kava party. The queen is about thirty, very stout, with a round good-natured face, large and full eyes, with a very pleasing expression, small mouth and very white regular teeth. She wore her hair short, and dressed with a white powder rubbed on wet, and then combed so as to stand up like the front of a barrister's wig—a mode of hair-dressing by no means unbecoming in the Tongaese women. She received us without rising, smiling and holding out her hand as we were presented. There were present on this occasion a number of Feejee chiefs, who had just arrived with one of their principal men. They had their faces and necks blackened, and wore enormous bushes of hair, dyed different colours and curiously arranged, very much resembling in this respect the natives of the Louisiade. They were smaller and much darker in colour than the Tongaese, with a wild restlessness of expression, quite different from the placid manner of the Friendly Islanders. Upon seeing me the king remembered my wish to have his autograph, and taking my sketching tablet and pencil with him into the royal bed-chamber—a small room divided by a mat-partition from the one in which we sat—he wrote his name, and brought them out to me again. Wishing to have that of the queen, whom I had heard could write, I ventured to ask for hers also. She appeared pleased with the idea, and smiling, at once got up from her mats, and going into the bedroom, as the king had done, returned again immediately, having placed her own signature, "Charlotte Lube," or Charlotte the Dove, below that of her royal master. The king signs "George Tubou," or George the King.

I had tried the day before, without success, to procure one of the musical instruments mentioned by Cook, a kind of flute played with the nose, called a "fung fung," and a native girl had undertaken to find or make one for me to be ready when we came on shore to-day. Hearing that she had kept her promise, and moreover was quite prepared to show me the mode of playing it, I slipped away from the Royal party, and started off with one of the missionaries to go up to his house, that I might see the performance, but as we met her upon the road, bringing three or four of the flutes with her, we turned and walked back. When, how-

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
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own people, and finds sufficient employment in attending to his duties as King without meddling in trade. He is one of the best sailors among the Tongaese, and has frequently shown remarkable coolness and presence of mind in situations of danger. When we were at Tongatabu he was about to build a jetty over the reef at the anchorage. He does not smoke, and his example is generally followed by his people, smoking being considered as a mark of dissipation. At one time, however, it prevailed to a great extent, nearly every man and woman, and even many children, smoking whenever they could get tobacco. The use of it is discouraged by the missionaries, but I imagine that some of the natives still secretly indulge in it, for while I was sketching one day a young woman came up to me, and, first looking cautiously around, inquired in a confidential whisper if I had any tobacco, at the same time showing me a short black pipe.

Canoes.—The model exhibited will serve to show the construction of these better than any description. They are steered with a large paddle on the lee quarter, and it will be seen that the lower part or foot of the sail is secured to a spar in the same manner as the sails of the "America" yacht. King George's canoe is 90 feet long, the sail being 90 feet high and 60 feet wide at the top. These large double canoes will carry as many as 200 men.

In 1847 King George, fearing that the French might interfere with him, wrote a letter to the governor of New Zealand, requesting that he might with his people be received as subjects of the British crown.

I would venture to remark that it must be of advantage to cultivate friendly relations with the inhabitants of all such islands as are desirous of being connected with us, more especially as it may be very desirable to form depôts for our steamers at some of the islands. It has been exceedingly difficult for me to draw a line between the geographical and the ethnological in this paper, as they are so intimately connected; but I trust by this simple narration, illustrated by the pencil, that many, who would have no taste for a voyage of 12,000 or 15,000 miles, will in some measure realize the condition of our antipodean fellow men; and it is to be hoped that in a comparatively few years the connexion existing between our Australian colonies and the mother country may also include these beautiful and fertile islands.

Sailing Directions for entering Tongatabu.

HAVING no map of Tongatabu, or any knowledge of the place, we were in doubt as to which was the proper entrance to the anchorage, and the following sailing directions were afterwards kindly given me by Mr. May, master of the Meander, as the result of his observation upon going in.

When the northern point of Eua bears S., steer direct for the small island of Eua Eki, on nearing which several small islets will be observed immediately to the